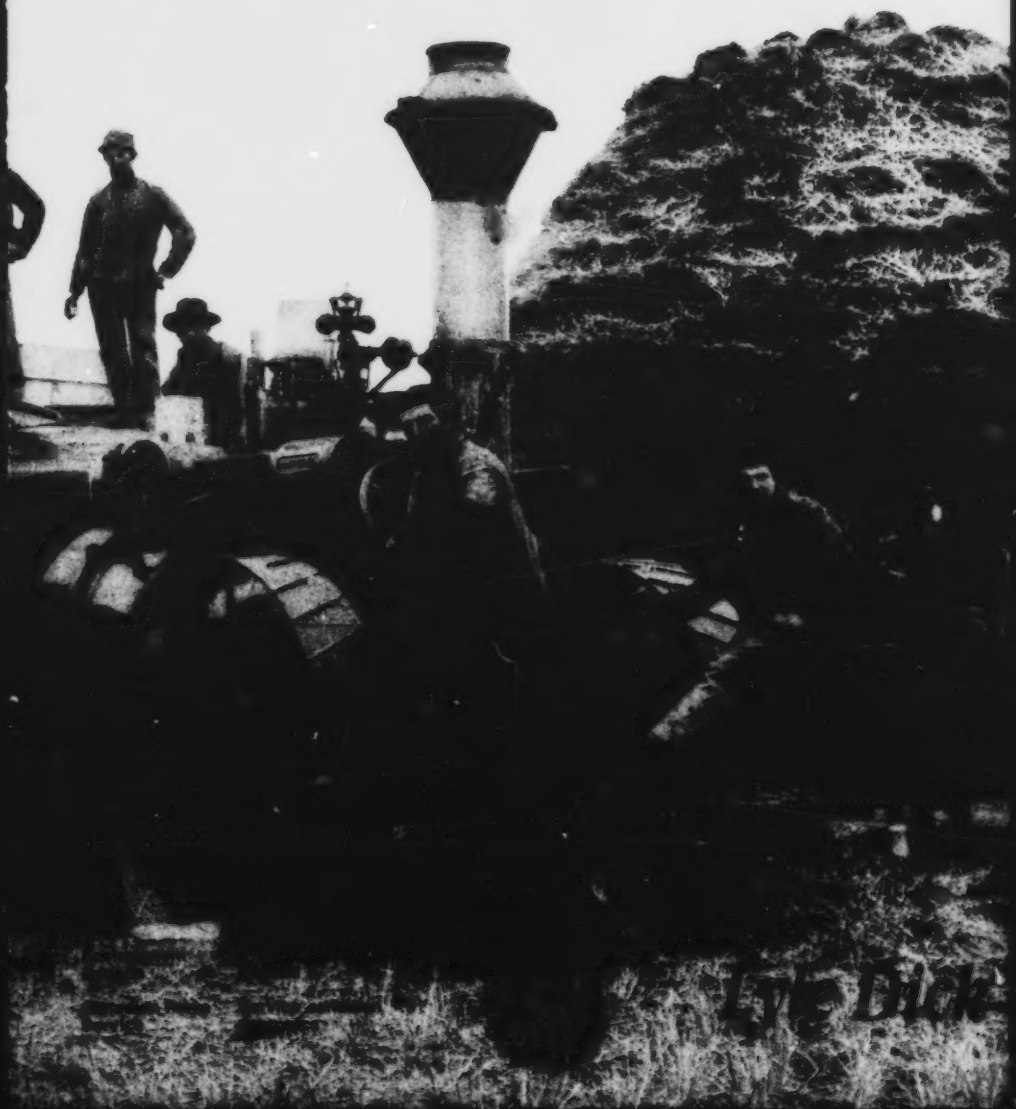
FARMERS "MAKING GOOD"

The Development of Abernethy District, Saskatchewan 1880-1920



FARMERS "MAKING GOOD"

The Development of Abernethy District, Saskatchewan, 1880-1920

Lyle Dick

Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History

National Historic Parks and Sites
Canadian Parks Service
Environment Canada

89-06366/

© Minister of Supply and Services Canada 1989.

Available in Canada through authorized bookstore agents and other bookstores, or by mail from the Canadian Government Publishing Centre, Supply and Services Canada, Hull, Quebec, Canada K1A 0S9

L'original français s'intitule "Les fermiers 'font fortune' : l'évolution économique et sociale du district d'Abernethy (Saskatchewan) de 1880 à 1920." (n° de catalogue : R61-2/9-42F). En vente au Canada par l'entremise de nos agents libraires agréés et autres librairies, ou par la poste au Centre d'édition du gouvernement du Canada, Approvisionnements et Services Canada, Hull, Québec, Canada K1A 0S9.

Cover design: Rod Won
Editing and layout: Sheila Ascroft
Cover illustration: Threshing grain from stacks with portable steam engine, Moose Jaw District, ca. 1895 (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, R-B574)

Published under the authority of the
Minister of the Environment, Ottawa, 1989.

Parks publishes the results of its research in archaeology, architecture and history. A list of publications is available from Research Publications, Canadian Parks Service, Environment Canada, 1600 Liverpool Court, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0H3.

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Dick, Lyle
Farmers "making good": the development of Abernethy District, Saskatchewan, 1880-1920

(Studies in archeology, architecture and history, ISSN 0821-1027)
Issued also in French under title: Les fermiers "sans fortune".
Bibliography
ISBN 0-660-12939-6
DSS cat. no. R61-2/9-42E

1. Abernethy Region (Sask.) — Colonization.
2. Agricultural colonies — Saskatchewan — Abernethy Region.
3. Frontier and pioneer life — Saskatchewan — Abernethy Region.
4. Saskatchewan — History.
I. Canadian Parks Service. National Historic Parks and Sites.
II. Title.
III. Title: The development of Abernethy District, Saskatchewan, 1880-1920.
VI. Series.

FC3545.A23D54 1989 971.24'4 C89-097098-X F1074.A23D54

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements 5
Preface 9

I. Settlement of the Abernethy District 13

II. Homesteading Costs in the Abernethy District in the Settlement Period 51

III. Economic Development of the Abernethy District, 1880-1920 69

IV. Work and Daily Life at the Motherwell Farm 99

V. Abernethy's Social and Economic Structure 123

VI. Social Relationships 135

VII. Abernethy's Social Creed 153

VIII. Agrarian Unrest in the Central Qu'Appelle Region 165

IX. Conclusion 193

Appendix A. Research Design for the Quantitative Analysis of Abernethy Settlement, by David Greenwood 201

Endnotes 205
Bibliography 237

Submitted for publication in 1984 by Lyle Dick, Historical Services, Prairie and Northern Region, Canada Parks Service, Environment Canada, Winnipeg.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many persons for their assistance in the research and preparation of this report. Special thanks go to David Greenwood who provided the research design for the statistical analysis of land acquisition in Chapter I and to Professor Douglas Sprague who provided guidance in the development of quantitative methodology. The Fortran data coding was performed by Sarah Carter. I would also like to thank Michael Camp of the Statistical Analysis System (S.A.S.) Institute at Raleigh, N.C., for permission to use the S.A.S. computer package for this project.

Lloyd Rodwell of the Saskatchewan Archives Board in Saskatoon was extremely helpful in devising a scheme to permit the pulling of more than 800 homestead files and in making many suggestions about source material. Archival assistance was also provided by Doug Bocking and D'Arcy Hande in Saskatoon; Trevor Powell, Ruth Dyck Wilson, and Ed Morgan in Regina; Elizabeth Blight and Barry Hyman at the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, and Brian Corbett and Terry Cook at the National Archives of Canada. Many of the non-archival primary materials used in this study were obtained at the Manitoba Legislative Library.

Outside commentary was generously provided by Professors James Richtik, Gerald Friesen, Robert Ankli, Michael Percy and Judy Wiesinger. Professor Irene Spry provided a critique of an earlier version of the second chapter of this study published in the Fall 1981 issue of *Prairie Forum*; Spry's critique appears in the Spring 1982 issue. Illustrations, maps and graphs were designed and drafted by Brent Richards, Darlene Stewart, Kathy Lausman and myself.

I would also like to acknowledge the contribution of Dr. Frits Pannekoek, former Chief of Historical Research, Prairie Region, Canadian Parks Service, who supervised the study in its formative stages.

Finally, I would like to thank the many members of the Motherwell family and residents of the Abernethy district who have contributed such a great deal of information on its early history: Laura Jensen, Pat Motherwell, Laura Murray, Gertrude Barnsley, the late Jack Bittner, Marie Bittner, the late Walter Brock, Allan Burton, H.C. Burton, Howard Dinnin, the late Dan and Olive Gallant, Bert Garratt, the late Nina Gow, Dick and Elizabeth Large, Margretta Evens Lindsay, the late Alma Mackenzie, Major McFadyen, Elizabeth Morris, Annie Morrison, George Morrison, Ben Noble, Mr. and Mrs. Rich Penny, Harry Smith, the late Ralph Stueck, Nelson Stueck, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Stueck, and Louis Wendell.

Just a word of how we have made good ... I always kept one Ideal in view, and have worked steadily to it from a little boy of 13 without a cent in Toronto. I have steadily climbed till today 40 years after I have $10,000 of stock and 9 quarter-sections of land .... **John Teece**

Source: Saskatchewan Archives Board Regina, Department of Agriculture Statistics Branch. File re: General Publicity, 1914. Letter of John Teece to J. Cromie, 27 December 1913.

Make good b. To prove to be capable or efficient; also to succeed; to justify by successes a course of action or expectation.

Source: *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language.* 2nd Edition. G. & C. Merriam, publishers, Northampton, Mass., 1950, p. 1485.

PREFACE

A neighbour of W.R. Motherwell, John Teece was the largest landowner in Saskatchewan's Abernethy district before the First World War. He viewed his success as the product of his honesty, plain living, astute farm management, and initiative. In Teece's words, "what I have done any hardworking man can do if he means to." This Horatio Alger recipe for success has continued in popular perceptions of Saskatchewan rural life. A biography of former Saskatchewan premier James Gardiner, who farmed six miles from Abernethy at Lemberg, Saskatchewan, is entitled *None of It Came Easy: The Story of James Garfield Gardiner*.[1] The local history of a nearby community bears the alliterative title *Grit and Growth: The Story of Grenfell*.[2] Another biography of a Saskatchewan farm leader is called *Stout Hearts Stand Tall*.[3] A constantly recurring theme in the folklore of Anglo-Canadian settlement on the prairies is the early homesteaders' triumph through adversity, of "making good" against all odds.

Did these perceptions present a balanced picture of the nature of early economic development at Abernethy and other Anglo-Canadian prairie communities? History tends to be written of and by the successful; they are the ones who have lasted long enough and acquired the resources to write about their own experience. The documents historians use may reflect a very biased account of the past and so it is with Abernethy. Personal testimonials and reminiscences are tinged with emotion and subjective perception. Just as the early settlers believed they had to make good the expectations they held for themselves, so current popular historians often attempt to justify the actions of their ancestors.

In this way they follow the alternative definition of making good, that is "to justify by successes a course of action or expectation." The concept that success is its own vindication is reminiscent of the Calvinist paradigm in which rewards are naturally granted to the Elect, whose thrift, hard work, intelligence and other qualities justify their election.

While not disputing that these qualities may have played a role in the fulfillment of a settler's promise, it is pertinent to ask if other factors were

at play. Land is a finite resource and speculation in it is endemic in pioneer economies. It would be useful to determine the role of timing of settlement in a farmer's eventual success or failure. Did early arrival give some settlers a discernible advantage in terms of land selection? Similarly, did the prevailing free homestead system grant all settlers equal access to cheap land? Were there important differences in terms of access to political power between different settlement groups? We clearly need a more comprehensive look at the questions of who were the winners and losers in the prairies' early settlement era, and why.

This study of Abernethy's early social and economic history is one of a series written in support of the interpretive and restoration program at the W.R. Motherwell Homestead National Historic Park near Abernethy. The site was first recognized in 1966 when the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada recommended that W.R. Motherwell be designated a person of national historic significance and that his farmstead be preserved. The recommendation was approved by the federal government. As the co-instigator of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association at Indian Head in 1901, Motherwell had been identified as a prominent figure in prairie farmers' struggle to promote their economic interests. His subsequent achievements as the first Saskatchewan Minister of Agriculture in the province's formative period and as federal Minister after 1922 were also recognized.

In the course of planning the Motherwell park, four historical themes were selected for the interpretive program: W.R. Motherwell, the Ontarian settler; Motherwell and the development of scientific agriculture in Western Canada; his role in the agrarian unrest; and his political career. It was considered that his political career was well served by two M.A. theses.[4] Historical Research, Prairie Region, Canadian Parks Service, Environment Canada commissioned a survey of the scientific agriculture movement by David Spector entitled *Agriculture on the Prairies*, which was subsequently published in Canadian Parks Service's *History and Archaeology* series.[5] The present study has been written to provide a more comprehensive basis for interpreting the two remaining themes, of Motherwell as a representative of Anglo-Canadian settlement on the prairies, and his role as an agrarian activist.

Inasmuch as political activity is inextricably connected to socio-economic forces, the approach here has been to trace early Abernethy settlement, development of the agricultural economy, and community social structures. The study of socio-economic structures provides an interpretive framework but does not address the important questions of how people behave, interact, and conduct their daily affairs. Therefore

this study also addresses the issues of social creed, relationships, and work processes in defining the character of Abernethy society before the First World War. While not claiming Abernethy to be representative of all Anglo-Canadian settlements in the west, this history endeavours to identify local phenomena with potentially broader implications.

If Abernethy's history is a story of making good, it is paradoxical that this district was a centre of the early farmers' agitation around 1900. The existing literature of the agrarian unrest leaves unanswered many questions that must be resolved if we are to view this phenomenon from a modern perspective. What socio-economic groups sponsored the agitation? Were they representative of the overall rural population on the prairies? In terms of individual contributions, was W.R. Motherwell's role the pivotal one or should it be viewed as a catalyst in a much broader movement? In the larger scheme of things, did the founding of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association really herald the beginning of the farmers' era in Canadian politics, as has so often been alleged?

I. THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ABERNETHY DISTRICT

The Setting

The Abernethy district is an area of gently undulating prairie to the east of the Qu'Appelle Lakes in south-eastern Saskatchewan. The district is currently defined by the boundaries of the Rural Municipality of Abernethy, an area of local jurisdiction extending approximately 18 miles west from Lake Katepwa and 22 miles north from the Qu'Appelle River (Fig. 1). The lakes and river form a continuous waterway in the Qu'Appelle River Valley that extends from the lakes north of Regina to its confluence with the Assiniboine River east of the Manitoba boundary. In the Abernethy area the other major feature is a tributary of the Qu'Appelle, called Pheasant Creek, and its coulée, that meanders through the district in a generally north-east to south-west direction before joining the river. The Pheasant Hills, an upland of undulating terrain dotted with sloughs, prairie, and wood bluffs, border the district to the east. To the north lie the "File Hills," an area of alternating prairie and woodland possessing a number of small lakes (Fig. 2). These wooded lands are of somewhat limited productivity. In addition to the loss of much of the land to sloughs and trees, their clay-loam soils are generally of secondary quality. The "Pheasant Plains" around Abernethy, however, possess high quality clay soils and some of the richest farmlands in the province. It is not surprising that when southern Saskatchewan was first settled systematically 100 years ago, these lands were among the first to be taken.

When W.R. Motherwell came west to claim his homestead on the Pheasant Plains in 1882, he was participating in a great national experiment. Only 12 years earlier, the Canadian Confederation had assumed control of the Hudson's Bay Company's western territory of Rupert's Land. In the first decade after the union, thousands of immigrants, principally from Ontario, had settled on farms in Manitoba. Yet, as the

Canadian economy entered a serious depression in the 1870s, large numbers of Ontarians passed by the western opportunities and emigrated to the United States. The vast expanse of prairie west of the Manitoba boundary remained largely empty. In 1878, John A. Macdonald's Conservatives made a concerted effort to address the problem of settling the prairies. With the inauguration of the National Policy of immigration, settlement, tariff barriers, and railroad promotion, the Conservative government hoped to realize the dream of a settled West that had so far eluded them. The resultant survey and railroad construction paved the way for the systematic settlement of the North-West Territories.

The Free Homestead System and Survey

Since the Dominion government's land grant system provided the framework for the subdivision and disposal of most lands in the Abernethy area, this system was investigated in some detail. Essentially, the Dominion lands administration was the outgrowth of national policies formulated by Macdonald's Conservatives at the time of Confederation. These policies were rooted in several causes, but centred on their desire to maintain British North America as a political entity separate from the American republic to the south. After the American Civil War, United States expansionism, articulated under the banner of Manifest Destiny, seemed to threaten the territorial integrity of the Hudson's Bay Company's territory of Rupert's Land, particularly the southern prairie regions. Faced with serious economic problems arising from surplus population in rural areas of the United Province of Canada, Macdonald and his colleagues saw the potential to siphon this population to the western Canadian prairie. Moreover, the settlement of the prairies held the promise of creating an agricultural hinterland for eastern financial, manufacturing, and food processing industries, while promoting transportation development. As the clarion calls of American annexationists grew louder in the late 1860s, the need for rapid Canadian settlement became apparent. The original public lands policies were, therefore, drafted in a climate of urgency and haste.

The existing system of land subdivision on the prairies was established by order-in-council on 25 April 1871. By the Dominion Lands Act of 1872, the western Canadian prairie lands were to be divided into a grid of townships six miles square. Each township was to be composed of 36 sections of 640 acres, to be divided in turn into four quarter-sections of 160 acres. Surveying of townships extended from two base lines: the

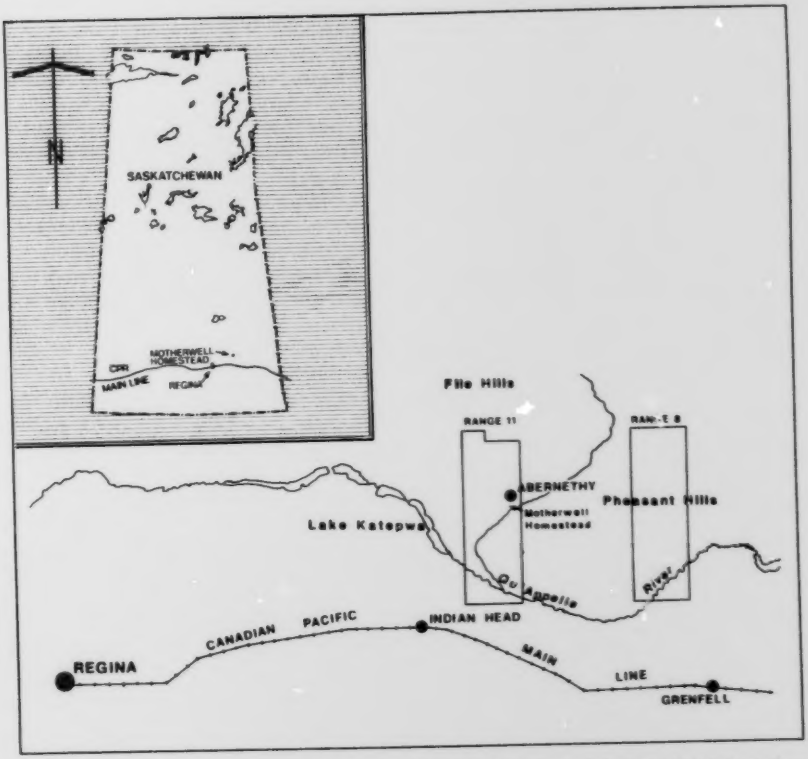


Fig. 1. Location of sample townships in southeastern Saskatchewan. The left block enclosing the village of Abernethy represents the three townships in Range 11 west of the 2nd Meridian selected for quantitative analysis of Anglo-Saxon Ontarian settlement. The right block includes three townships of predominantly Eastern German settlement in Range 8 around the town of Neudorf.

principal meridian, which ran through Fort Garry, and an east-west axis on the American-Canadian boundary. Townships were numbered north from the international boundary, in ranges measured west from the principal meridian. Additional meridians were added as the survey moved westward. Land in the Abernethy study area, for example, lies west of the 2nd meridian.

The townships in the vicinity of Abernethy were surveyed in 1881 and 1882. Dominion land surveyors, appointed in Eastern Canada, brought their surveying parties west in the spring and worked until snowfall. At Abernethy the major survey party was led by C.F. Miles, whose diary remains the best source of information on the pre-settlement

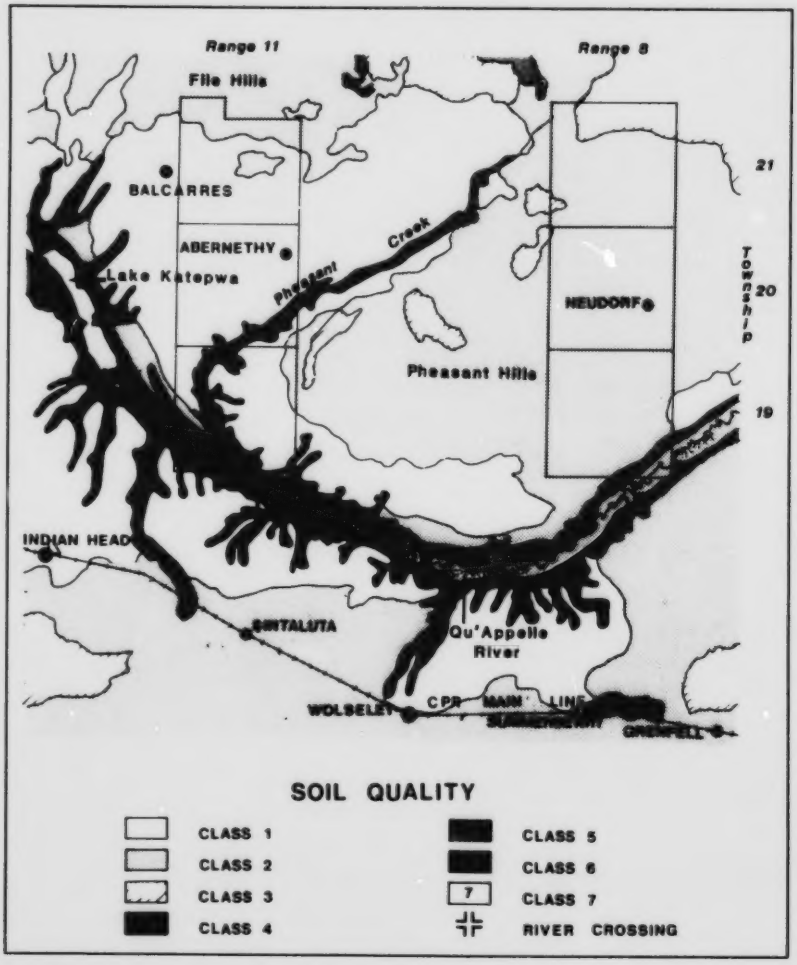


Fig. 2. Soil quality in the Abernethy and Neudorf Districts. (Map adapted from the ARDA Canada Land Inventory, Melville Map Sheet Area 62L [1967], reproduced with the permission of the Surveys and Mapping Branch, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources).

geographic character of the land. Dominion land surveyors were required to report on the vegetative cover, presence of marsh and water, and soil quality of individual quarter-sections rated on a scale of one to four. Miles reported that the townships now encompassed by the Rural Municipality of Abernethy consisted "of the finest land that has come under my observation."[1] Two years later another surveyor, J. Bourgeois, com-

mented on Township 20, Range 11, West 2nd M., in which the Motherwell homestead is situated:

> *Soil is of the very best quality. Nearly all the even-numbered sections are occupied by settlers who have made extensive improvements. Pheasant Creek traverses the south-east portion of the township, entering in Section 4 and leaving from Section 13. The land is undulating on level prairie, and soil a good clay loam. The only timber in the township consists of a few bluffs of small poplar and willow in the western tier of sections, there are numerous ravines running towards Pheasant Creek and a chain of small marshes traverses the northern part of the township.*[2]

Regulations governing the disposal of public lands in Manitoba and the North-West Territories were outlined comprehensively by the order-in-council.[3] Under its terms, a "free" homestead system was inaugurated, patterned on the 1862 Homestead Act of the United States. The new regulations permitted all males 21 years or older and persons who were heads of families to make entry for a homestead upon payment of a $10 entry fee; fulfillment of certain duties entitled the entrant to a patent for this land. The duties included residence and cultivation on the homestead during a three year "proving-up" period, during which the entrant was expected to prove that he was a *bona fide* settler. Shortly after the issuance of the order-in-council the Secretary of State recommended the creation of a new branch within the Department of the Interior, known as the Dominion Lands Branch, to be charged with the administration of public lands in the West.

Concurrently, the Dominion Parliament passed the first Canadian Pacific Railway Act in 1872, which granted a charter to Sir Hugh Allan and Associates to build a transcontinental rail line.[4] A central feature of the act was the provision of a block of 50 million acres to the company to subsidize rail construction. The block was to be allocated from a belt 40 miles wide — 20 on each side of the railway. Within this belt all odd-numbered sections were to be granted to the company; even-numbered sections were to be retained by the government for public lands disposal. There were two exceptions to this pattern. Two sections in each township were set aside for the support and maintenance of educational facilities, and 1-3/4 sections were claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company. In every fifth township, this grant was raised to two full sections (Fig. 3).[5]

After the CPR company failed to meet its initial commitments and was, with the Conservative government, implicated in the Pacific Scandal

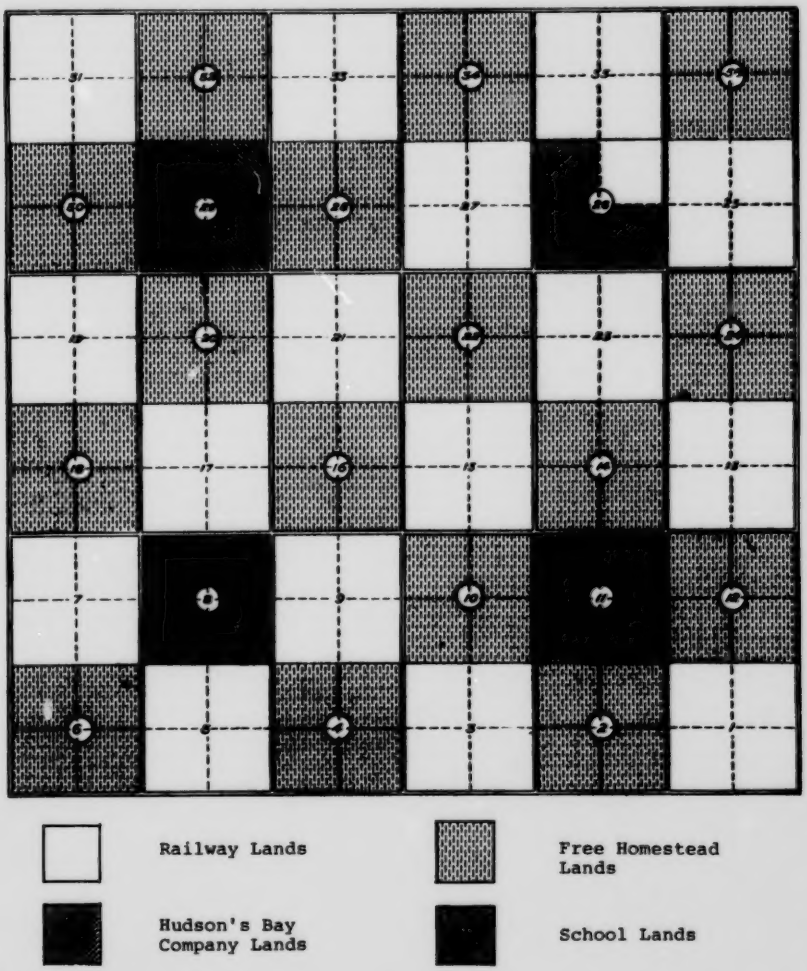


Fig. 3. Plan of a typical township, as outlined in the Dominion Lands Act (after 1879).

of 1873, Alexander Mackenzie's new administration abandoned the initial railway statute. The Liberals pursued a policy incorporating both private and public railway construction. The return to power of Macdonald's Conservatives in 1878 occasioned the unveiling of its National Policy of immigration and settlement, protective tariffs, and renewal of the CPR concept. New railway legislation in 1881, to incorporate the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, provided a new syndicate with generous as-

sistance, including a grant of $25 million and 25 million acres of suitable agricultural land. Included in the package of inducements were extensive tax exemptions and a monopoly provision that guaranteed no competitive rail lines would be approved for the West within 20 years after incorporation.[6]

Meanwhile, Dominion lands regulations underwent frequent changes. Many of these changes were influenced by land disposal policies in the United States, which was competing for many of the same settlers.[7] Following the American lead, the Dominion government created the pre-emption privilege in 1874. In the 1880s this provision permitted the homesteader to reserve and purchase an additional quarter-section of Dominion land adjacent to his homestead. The government hoped that this additional inducement would not only increase settlement on the Canadian prairies, but also help to avert the outflow of Canadians to the United States.

When immigration to Western Canada increased in 1878 the Macdonald government reduced the size of homestead and pre-emption allotments from 160 acres to 80 acres each.[8] Homestead entries tailed off sharply after the new regulations took effect, and the government quickly reversed this policy two months after its inception. Yet, within a decade after its introduction, it was apparent that the Dominion Lands Policy had not lived up to expectations. While Manitoba's population increased from about 19 000 to 60 000 in this period, the western agrarian sector represented only a fraction of the anticipated numbers.

During the following five years, the Conservative government enacted numerous changes to the Dominion Lands Act and Regulations in an attempt to increase immigration to Western Canada. An important new provision permitted settlers tomake second homestead entries. The intent of this provision was to induce experienced homesteaders to sell their improved homesteads in order to take up new land on the margins of settlement. In practice this goal was seldom realized. Since the regulations did not prohibit settlers from making second homestead entries in the vicinity of their original quarter-sections, many simply used it to add to their existing holdings.

New regulations also provided greater flexibility in the fulfillment of homestead duties. In addition to the original terms providing for three years' cultivation and residence, the 1884 amendments created two new systems from which the settler could choose:

i) Residence for two years and nine months within two miles of one's homestead, followed by residence in a habitable house on

the homestead for three months at any time prior to the application for patent. Cultivation duties under this system included the breaking of 10 acres in the first year, 15 in the second, and 15 in the third and the cropping of 10 acres in the second year and 25 in the third.

ii) A five-year system permitting the settler to reside anywhere for the first two years, although he was obliged to begin cultivation within six months of entry. Cultivation duties included the breaking of five acres in the first year, the cropping of five acres and breaking of 10 acres in the second year. After two years the settler had to maintain residence and cultivation on his homestead for at least six months in each of the three succeeding years.[9]

While about one-third of the homesteaders arrived in 1882, Abernethy received the majority of its settlers in the period following these amendments to the land regulations. The more liberal residency requirements, coupled with the provisions for pre-emptions and second homesteads, made the 1880s one of the most favourable periods in which to homestead in the entire settlement era.

Indian Treaty No. 4

While the Dominion Lands Act and survey were designed to prepare the western lands for systematic settlement, the government was first obliged to deal with the land claims of its native inhabitants. The original occupants of the Pheasant Plains area were the Plains Indians. At the time of the Hudson's Bay Company's surrender of the Territory of Rupert's Land to the Canadian government in 1870, the predominant culture in the Qu'Appelle area was the Plains Cree. In 1874 Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris negotiated Treaty No. 4, providing for the surrender of the area now encompassing south-eastern Saskatchewan, with representatives of the various Indian bands at the Qu'Appelle Lakes and later at Fort Ellice.[10]

A reading of Morris's correspondence with his Ottawa superiors and others reveals that the treaty-signing was a well-orchestrated event. Employing scarlet-coated Mounted Police to impress his Indian counterparts, Morris was intent on obtaining their acquiescence with the smallest possible commitment and expenditure.[11] Despite an apparent reluctance

to negotiate, the Indians were not in a position to refuse Morris's offerings. Decimation by smallpox and the accelerating disappearance of the buffalo, the mainstay of their economy, had weakened their resolve to resist.

Under the terms of Treaty No. 4, the Cree Indians were to receive a settlement in land, cash, assorted gifts, and agricultural and educational assistance. The land reserve was to consist of one square mile for each family of five, or lands in that proportion for larger and smaller families. Each chief was to receive $25 in cash, a coat, and a Queen's silver medal; each head man, or councillor, $15. In addition, each band was given $750 worth of powder, ball, shot and twine.

To promote self-sufficient agricultural development among the Indians, the treaty provided rudimentary implements of cultivation — two hoes, a spade, a scythe and an axe for each family, as well as seed wheat, barley, oats and potatoes to sow the lands they had prepared for crop. One plough and two harrows were allocated to every 10 families; each band was to receive a yoke of oxen, one bull, four cows, carpenter's tools, handsaws, augers, two saws, files, and a grindstone. Finally, the Government of Canada agreed to maintain a school on each reserve.[12]

The surveying of reserves followed the signing of the treaty. By 1880, three contiguous reserves had been surveyed to the north of Abernethy: Star Blanket's Reserve, 20 square miles; Little Black Bear's Reserve, 45 square miles, and Peepeekisis's Reserve, 45 square miles.

The following year an additional tract was surveyed and the Okanese Reserve was created. Some of the Cree bands were slow to move on to their reserves. J.L. Tobias has described the attempts by the major Plains Cree chiefs to hold out as long as possible for additional materials and for the right to occupy contiguous treaty lands. One of the principal hold-outs was Piapot, whose band was eventually forced to settle in the Qu'Appelle Region in 1885.[13]

Thereafter the Cree lived on the margins of society. While the Canadian government stated its intention to assist the Indians in adapting to the new order, their reserve lands were of secondary soil quality[14] and the simple agricultural tools more suited to a subsistence than a market-oriented agriculture. Reports of Indian agents and other officials suggest that the File Hills Indians were more responsive than other bands to the educational and agricultural instruction that was provided. At the same time, the persistence of native cultural practices, in particular the Sun Dance, indicated considerable resistance to the assimilationist policy of the government.[15]

The Qu'Appelle Métis

The land claims of one other native group — the Métis — remained to be considered. In the mid-1860s and throughout the seventies, Métis settlers from Manitoba had taken up land along the banks of the Qu'Appelle River and the shores of the Qu'Appelle Lakes to the south and west of Abernethy. Some of these early settlers led a semi-migratory existence, as they alternated between the seasonal activities of agriculture, fishing, and the buffalo hunt. Others had been assimilated, for all purposes, into the Indian lifestyle. A third group possessed a predominantly agricultural economy and remained on the land most of the year. Within this group, considerable differences existed as to the extent of land cultivated value and number of buildings. A reading of the homestead files for these settlers indicates, that several were engaged in fairly extensive farming operations, particularly in the raising of livestock. For example, one Métis farmer reported the ownership of 70 head of cattle and 50 horses in 1891.[16] Others possessed dwellings and outbuildings of up to $2500 in value. The point to be made here is that many Métis were engaged in agriculture on a fairly sophisticated level. Yet a large proportion of the Qu'Appelle Métis left their lands in the first few years after the influx of white settlement. Did they leave because of they could not, or would not, make the necessary adjustments to the new social and economic order? Or were they, in subtle or other ways, forced out? To a significant degree the answers to these questions lie in the original disposition of Métis farm lands in the early 1880s.

Land Claims

Land claims of the Qu'Appelle Métis were addressed in two orders-in-council, passed in 1885. The first, dated 30 March, gave Métis settlers who had predated the survey the option of surrendering title to their waterfront acreages in favour of homestead and pre-emption entries on other Dominion lands as yet unclaimed. Alternatively, the government would pay scrip in the amount of one dollar per acre to the claimants. A second order-in-council, dated 18 April, amended the first by adding provisions permitting the Métis who were in "*bona fide* possession, by virtue of residence and cultivation," of water frontages, to purchase these lands at one dollar per acre. In no case were these lands to exceed 40 acres, and claimants were given two years in which to make the payment. Settlers who opted to purchase waterfront acreages were deemed eligible

to select one quarter-section from lands open to homestead and pre-emption entry. Moreover, those Métis heads of families residing in the North-West Territories before 15 July 1870 were granted certificates entitling them to 160 acres of land in lieu of $160 of scrip.[17]

From the point of view of the Dominion government, the decision to grant scrip represented an expedient solution to the problem of extinguishing the Métis land claims. It did not, however, take into consideration the vulnerability of a people unschooled in the technicalities involved in the registration of land.

The government had witnessed the sorry experience of wholesale defrauding of Métis in Manitoba by speculators after 1870. Alternatives to the adopted policy had been suggested. The North-West Territorial Council and the Roman Catholic clergy had recommended that a scrip system not be adopted. Under their proposed system, land would be granted to the Métis but title would be retained by the Crown during the first five to 10 years. Dominion authorities ignored these suggestions.

When the North-West Halfbreed Commission sat at Fort Qu'Appelle to dispose of the claims in 1885, the majority of Métis holders of water-front acreage chose to accept money rather than land. The Commission, accordingly, issued scrip in amounts ranging between $20.58 and $152 to 14 Métis who had settled on the banks of the Qu'Appelle River and the lakes.[18] In retrospect, the choice of money scrip was unfortunate. For a small amount of cash, the Métis had relinquished ownership of lands that would soon appreciate to many times the value of the cash settlement. Yet their decision should be viewed in the specific context of the time in which it was made.

Speaking on the subject of Indian and Métis concerns in 1886, T.W. Jackson of Fort Qu'Appelle discussed the reason for the Métis acceptance of money scrip. Jackson, a member of the Territorial Assembly and a legal advisor to the Métis, stated that just prior to the sitting of the North-West Halfbreed Commission he and others had urged the Métis to accept land rather than money. At this time, 70 percent of the Métis had indicated their preference for land, but before they had formally accepted, news arrived of the outbreak of hostilities at Duck Lake, the first confrontation of the North-West Rebellion. Rumours spread to the effect that "Riel was to prove victorious, that the halfbreeds had better not take land; that they should take scrip, buy what they could and the land would ultimately belong to them."[19] For this reason, Jackson related, they had accepted the money.

Insofar as it concerned only the even-numbered Dominion lands sections, the issue of scrip represented only part of the general question

of land disposal. Since most lands bordering the Qu'Appelle Valley and Lakes fell within the 40-mile CPR belt, the odd-numbered sections had been issued to the railway as part of its land grant. Further complications arose when the CPR sold 150 000 acres of its land in the central Qu'Appelle region to the Ontario and Qu'Appelle Land Company. Many of these lands were already occupied by Métis settlers.

In 1882, 45 Métis settlers in the Qu'Appelle Valley sent a petition to Edgar Dewdney, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, in which they alerted him to apparent attempts by the Ontario and Qu'Appelle Land Company to dispossess them of their lands. The dispute stemmed from surveys that

> *have discovered some of us to be on Railway Land now owned by the Ontario and Qu'Appelle Land Company — whose agent has informed us that we must either buy the land from them or move off — in fact we are informed that they have sold some of the land at present occupied by a* bona fide *settler* ....[20]

The petition also stated that the Métis refused to comply with the land company's request, claimed patents to their lands, and requested Dewdney's intervention on their behalf.

Dewdney forwarded the Métis petition to Sir John A. Macdonald, Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior, on 29 August 1882. Receiving no reply he wrote again on 19 March 1883 impressing the urgency of the settlement of their claims. He noted that many of the Métis settlers were living on the same section, and

> *as land became valuable a scramble was made by land speculators to obtain the right titles and interest of those settled in the most favoured locations. The sooner the claims of these Half Breeds are determined the better as a number of them are 'bona fide' settlers and deserve consideration.*[21]

Finally on 6 July 1883, Dewdney received a reply to his letter of the previous August from John R. Hall, Acting Secretary of the Department of the Interior. Hall stated that the correspondence regarding Métis land claims had been referred to Commissioner Walsh for investigation.[22] Yet, despite these assurances, no action was taken, and on 8 December 1883, T.W. Jackson, a Fort Qu'Appelle lawyer, wrote on behalf of the Métis:

If their own grievances upon which the Government have been repeatedly petitioned and memorialized, were brought personally to your notice some immediate action would be taken. Under any circumstances there would not be very many to deal with and the settlement of their claims need not be a troublesome one, but there are half breeds in the territories who have never received anything from Government and who it has been admitted are entitled to some consideration.[23]

Hall replied to Jackson's letter on 13 March 1884. He stated that the Minister had been very anxious to have the question of land claims settled and instructed Walsh to conduct an investigation. "Owing to an unusual pressure of business," however, Walsh had been unable as yet to visit the Métis. Hall stated that Walsh had again been required to investigate the matter "at the earliest possible opportunity."

At this point the file ends. It is not known what action was eventually taken by the Department, but within a year the majority of Métis settlers had disappeared from their lands. The possibility exists that they had assigned their quarter-sections to the Ontario and Qu'Appelle Land Company in exchange for money or some other consideration. It is also possible that the Métis were divested of their lands by fraudulent means.

The second scenario finds some substantiation in a separate Department of the Interior file dealing with the land claims of three settlers vis-à-vis the Ontario and Qu'Appelle Land Company lands.[24] Quit claim deeds for two of the three are still extant. By the first, a Métis settler, Albert Fisher, surrendered all claim to his quarter-section to the Ontario and Qu'Appelle Land Company for one dollar. A perusal of this document reveals the signature of only one witness, one R.J. Dodd; Albert Fisher's signature is denoted by an "X." The other quit claim deed provided for a payment of $300 to Stephen H. Caswell. Caswell's own signature on the document shows he was somewhat literate; his Anglo-Saxon surname also implies that he may have been capable of reading the document. In Fisher's case, however, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that some fraud was at play. There is no way of knowing whether Fisher actually signed the release or received the dollar, but having obtained the release, the Ontario and Qu'Appelle Land Company stood in position to sell the quarter-section for a price up to $1120.

Beyond the difficulties encountered with land companies and speculators, many Métis were hampered by the grid survey system which made no allowances for the existing pattern of cultivation and land use. This arbitrary method of land subdivision frequently placed two or more Métis

settlers on the same quarter-section or divided a Métis holding in two. In these cases settlers who had been dispossessed by the survey were usually minimally compensated for the improvements they had made on their lands and were granted an opportunity to make entry for other available homestead quarters. But since Métis society was based on a system of economic and social interdependencies, the dispersion of the formerly closely-knit community at Qu'Appelle may have contributed to a deterioration in their economic position.

By 1886 the economic effects of this dislocation were evident. In June of that year one Norbert Welsh wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney on behalf of his fellow Qu'Appelle Métis. Claiming that his compatriots were "striving against adversity, and are not able to provide themselves with the necessaries of life,"[25] Welsh pleaded for assistance in finding work in freighting or other jobs. Dewdney passed the request on to the Department of the Interior, but directed his clerk to add that

> *His Honor has learnt that, although one or two instances of individual distress may exist, there is no general destitution prevailing in the District, and Mr. Welsh himself is in fairly comfortable circumstances.*[26]

At the request of the Department of the Interior, Dewdney commissioned W.A. Clarke of Fort Qu'Appelle to investigate the circumstances of the Qu'Appelle and File Hills Métis. Clarke subsequently reported that, "as a rule, we found the people happy, healthy and contented, although in poor circumstances, and not very bright circumstances for the future."[27] Noting that many of the Métis owned working horses and were prepared to undertake freighting work for the government, Clarke recommended that they be given this work. He added, however, that they "should be compelled to earn what they get, otherwise it will cause discontent amongst the whites."

Clarke's detailed commentary on individual Métis confirms that while the majority were considered to be in good health — "good health" was not defined — they faced a bleak economic future. Those who were employed were engaged in gathering and selling wood, hunting, or fishing on the Qu'Appelle Lakes. Each of these primary products was a fast-diminishing resource. With the expansion of settlement and the exhaustion of supplies of wood, game and fish, agriculture represented the only realistic alternative to economic stagnation. But market-oriented agriculture required capital to finance the purchase of implements, buildings and

livestock. Most of the Métis did not possess the requisite financial resources to participate fully in the new agriculture.

A 1906 map of land tenure in the Indian Head and Abernethy districts shows few Métis still engaged in agriculture.[28] Some continued to live in log houses in the valley on land that was now owned by white settlers with whom they occasionally found work. The Fayants, for example, continued to live on valley lands now possessed by J.A.R. Blackwood, who employed them in harvest and other operations.[29] The Métis also acquired a reputation as fencers and performed contract fencing for various new settlers.[30] Others continued to eke out a living from fishing on the Qu'Appelle Lakes. The small settlement at Lebret continued to be the centre of Qu'Appelle Métis life. Generally speaking, however, their employment prospects remained poor, as they were shunted to the fringes of the new society.

Settlement on the Pheasant Plains

The Pheasant Plains district received its first permanent white settlers in 1882 and 1883. The "free" homestead was the dominant form of land disposal in this early period. To the south-east, near the future community of Rosewood, a handful of Mounted Police officers from the Fort Qu'Appelle post had taken homesteads as military scrip in 1881.[31] But in 1882 large-scale settlement began as Ontarian and British immigrants headed west by ox cart from the western terminus of the CPR at Brandon.[32] On reaching the Dominion Land Office at Fort Qu'Appelle these newcomers discovered that all the surveyed government land south of the Qu'Appelle River had been already claimed. They accordingly selected homesteads and pre-emptions on the fertile plains bordering Pheasant Creek to the north of the valley.

The process and timing of settlement is a question that has preoccupied historians and historical geographers of the mid-west and prairies.[33] Insofar as land selection may indicate a predisposition to a particular type of farming or of economic and social relationships among farmers, its study is central to an understanding of the settlement experience. The most sophisticated attempts to analyze land acquisition in settlement have employed quantitative methodologies. Foremost among these is Michael Conzen's *Frontier Farming in an Urban Shadow* ....[34] Conzen's method was to identify the principal factors bearing on land selection, and to code these as dependent variables in a multiple regression equation in which the year of sale was the independent variable.

A similar approach was adopted for the Abernethy settlement study. Variables considered in the regression analysis were drawn from the contemporary literature and more recent historical studies. These variables included: soil quality; accessibility to wood and water; proximity to grain handling facilities, and proximity to supply centres. The multiple regression model based on these variables showed that approximately 60 percent of the variation among years of entry is explained by variables based on distance from the railway (for further detail see Appendix A). Each of the other variables appeared to explain only minor portions of the remainder of the variability. These results give some credence to the hypothesis that proximity to the railway was the dominant factor in the settlers' choice of homestead lands.

The desirability of most land parcels is demonstrated by the rush when townships 19 and 20 were opened for entry in March and July 1883.[35] In township 19 in particular, nearly all quarters were claimed in a matter of days, a fact which may have affected the amount of variability that could be explained by the regression model. The apparent lack of significance attributable in the model to the presence of wooded areas may be related to the fact that most homestead parcels in close proximity to the coulée and river banks had been reserved prior to formal entry. A perusal of the 1883 surveyor's township plan shows the presence of squatters, or pre-entrants, on most of the quarters. As was the case in Manitoba, however, the heavily wooded areas were passed by in favour of the open prairie that was at least accessible to woods. It would appear that from the outset, the Abernethy settlers were intending to specialize in grain farming and selected lands that were most readily cleared for this purpose.

By far the largest number of settlers arrived during the land rush of 1882-83. In 1883, 66 settlers made entry for homesteads and pre-emptions in townships 19, 20 and 21, in Range 11, west of the 2nd Meridian. This early group represented 43 percent of the total number of homesteaders in these townships. Such a large influx can be explained in terms of the opening of these townships for entry, the building of the CPR and the expectation of early rail service through the Pheasant Plains (Fig. 4).

What is less easy to explain is the timing of later settlement. Assuming that prospective eastern Canadian settlers had access to information on the political and economic conditions in Western

Canada, it might be expected that the chronology of immigration into the area would reflect those conditions. Homestead entries in the Abernethy district plummetted to eight in 1884 and six in 1885. In the former year delays in local rail construction had already become evident, and it

is reasonable to conclude that this fact had some impact in curtailing immigration. With respect to 1885, André Lalonde has argued that settlement was impeded by the outbreak of the North-West Rebellion that spring.[36] While the Indian and Métis inhabitants of the Qu'Appelle area did not join the uprising, numerous instances of vandalism and theft were reported, and Indian movements off the reserves created a climate of apprehension in the white communities.[37] Chief Star Blanket led the men of the File Hills Reserve to the Qu'Appelle Valley where they conducted war-like manoeuvres.[38] Piapot's band also wandered off the reserve and was reported as far west as Swift Current.[39] At Qu'Appelle the local immigration agent wrote in his annual report that a number of immigrants who were on their way to the Qu'Appelle district changed their destinations as a result of the Rebellion.[40]

In 1886 entries rallied slightly, but dropped to zero in 1887. The complete tailing off in immigration is probably attributable to the drought and near total devastation of crops in 1886. At this point many settlers had suffered three successive crop failures. The seriousness of the economic situation is illustrated by a tabulation of homestead attempts which shows that cancellations far outstripped entries that year.[41]

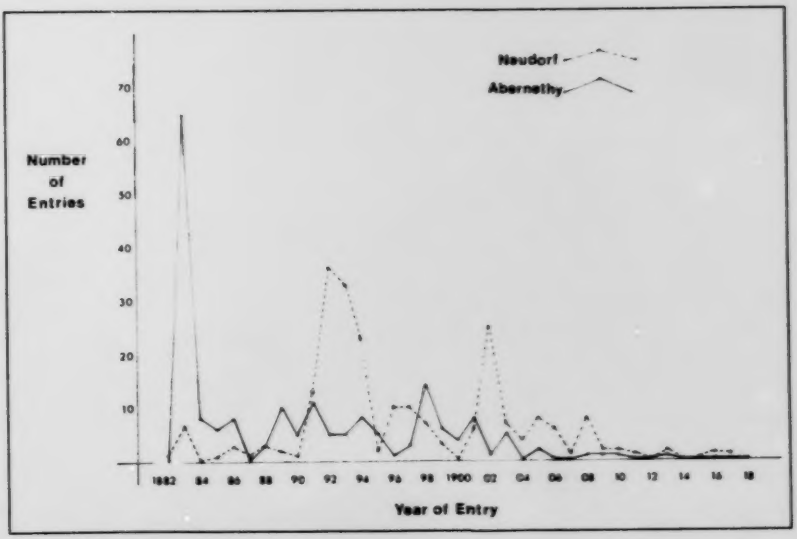


Fig. 4. Distribution of homestead entries by year of entry.

Agency	Homestead		Pre-Emption	
	Entries	Cancelled	Entries	Cancelled
Qu'Appelle	149	255	60	190
Souris	160	265	56	265
Winnipeg	87	104	17	28
Dufferin	13	77	1	55

The figures may also illustrate the rooting out of land speculators or *non-bona fide* settlers. Such a large number of cancellations, however, must surely indicate great hardship among Qu'Appelle area farmers.

Indeed, farming conditions deteriorated so greatly during the decade that a large number of settlers abandoned the North-West Territories for greener pastures in the United States. An indication of the extent of the out-migration in the late eighties is provided by census statistics. In 1885, the 5147 farm-operators in the District of Assiniboia occupied 1 641 752 acres, of which 160 133 acres were cultivated. In 1891, despite continuing immigration, the net number of occupiers had risen only slightly to 5694, while occupied acreage had dropped to 1 599 156 acres and improved acreage to 151 699.[42]

In consequence of the outflow, settlement remained scattered, and the development of schools and social amenities was further inhibited. Economically, farmers experienced a chronic shortage of labour; psychologically, life on the frontier continued to be a lonely experience for many. With the failure of rail service to appear in the area, Abernethy was yet another isolated community, a distant adjunct of the communities of Indian Head and Sintaluta on the CPR main line to the south and Fort Qu'Appelle to the west.

Land Speculation

Little direct evidence exists that could identify the extent of land speculation in the Abernethy district in the settlement period. Abernethy was not provided with local rail service before 1904, and therefore it was probably spared the rather blatant speculation in homestead lands that took place in the areas situated closer to the CPR main line. Speculation was a common feature of settlement life in both the American and the Canadian Wests, as many settlers seized the opportunity to turn their "free" homesteads into quick profits by sitting on these lands until the price of land had gone up. Stories abounded of borrowed shacks and cattle that fraudulent settlers moved onto their homestead lands in anticipation

of the homestead inspector's arrival. After he had come and gone, the shanties and cows were quickly moved to the next homestead.

In the Qu'Appelle district particularly flagrant examples of speculation occurred:

> *Along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in the Qu'Appelle District, there is one great trouble regarding homesteading which will have to be met next year. Many parties have gone ahead of the townships being open for entry, and after the survey was begun did a little breaking, varying generally from one-half to four or five acres, and erected a small shanty — or what is stated in affidavits as such — which in many cases is not more than a few poles. Sometimes one person will make the above amount of improvements on several quarter sections. This 'squatting,' so called, is done by a ring of speculators. At each station of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in the vicinity of the lands so improved, there is one of the ring or his agents placed. He meets the settler looking for land, informs him that all the land in the vicinity is taken up but for a consideration varying from $100 to $1,000, he will buy out the arty holding a claim, and then entry by the purchaser can be made for it. I have personally witnessed the above operation, and would suggest that some steps be taken to checkmate the operators. The Dominion Lands Act, in such cases appears rather vague ....*[43]

Most speculative activities in the area north of the Qu'Appelle River were confined to petty holdings by individuals. In 1884 Homestead Inspector Rufus Stevenson sent an enumerated list of entrants on quarter-sections that had been allotted to the Touchwood-Qu'Appelle Land and Colonization Company, about 30 miles north and west of Abernethy.[44] He reported a high incidence of absenteeism among these settlers, some of whom were working at Fort Qu'Appelle or other locations throughout Western Canada. Few had built habitations andwhat little breaking they had accomplished had been hired out. A follow-up report a year later showed 30 to 99 settlers were still absent from their homesteads. Stevenson voiced his doubts that these settlers would become *bona fide* settlers and recommended that a strict interpretation of the homestead law be adhered to, that is that these entries be cancelled.[45] In 1885, the *Qu'Appelle Vidette* reported that 10 of 35 homestead entrants in a township just north of Balcarres had not visited their lands in the two years since the entry, and that their lands were subject to cancellation.[46]

The Great North West Central Railway

Beyond specific considerations such as soil quality and proximity to wooded areas, settlers chose lands north of the Qu'Appelle Valley because they anticipated the early arrival of rail service to their locality. A reading of Department of the Interior files confirms that in 1882 the Souris and Rocky Mountain Railway Company received a charter from the Dominion Government to build a line from Melbourne, Manitoba, to the Rocky Mountains via Fort Ellice and Battleford.[47] For its efforts the company was to be permitted to purchase land up to 6400 acres per mile of completed track, at the rate of $1.06 per acre, which it could then sell to immigrants. In 1884 the company made a slight start in building the railroad, but construction was soon bogged down in disputes with its labourers, who claimed that they had never been paid for their work. Almost immediately the Department of the Interior was flooded with petitions from groups of settlers along the proposed route of the Souris and Rocky Mountain line.[48] These petitions stated that the settlers had selected lands in these districts only on the assumption that rail service would soon be provided. Since their lands were a prohibitive distance from the CPR main line, they claimed that the failure to build the railway would force most of them to abandon their lands.[49]

In 1885, the Dominion Government issued, by order-in-council, a charter to the North West Central Railway Company to assume the charter of the Souris and Rocky Mountain Railway. The company petitioned the government to convert the land purchase to a free grant, subject only to a charge of 10 cents per acre to cover the cost of survey. Their request was approved by order-in-council on 29 July 1885.[50] The route to be followed remained essentially the same as the one outlined in the earlier charter, although it was to terminate at Battleford, rather than the Rocky Mountains. Maps outlining the original contemplated route show that the railway was intended to run west from Fort Ellice and curve gradually northward after passing through Pheasant Forks, the centre of the Primitive Methodist Colonization Company to the north and east of Abernethy. According to the terms of the 29 July order-in-council, the railway was bound to build the first 50 miles by 31 December 1885 and to reach Battleford no later than 31 December 1889 (Fig. 5).

Signs of future financial difficulties with the railway were not long in appearing. On 30 July 1886, Senator Francis Clemow, on behalf of the corporators, declined to accept the company's charter on grounds that its approval bond issue was restricted by the Dominion Government to $20 000 per mile of track. Clemow maintained that the company, now

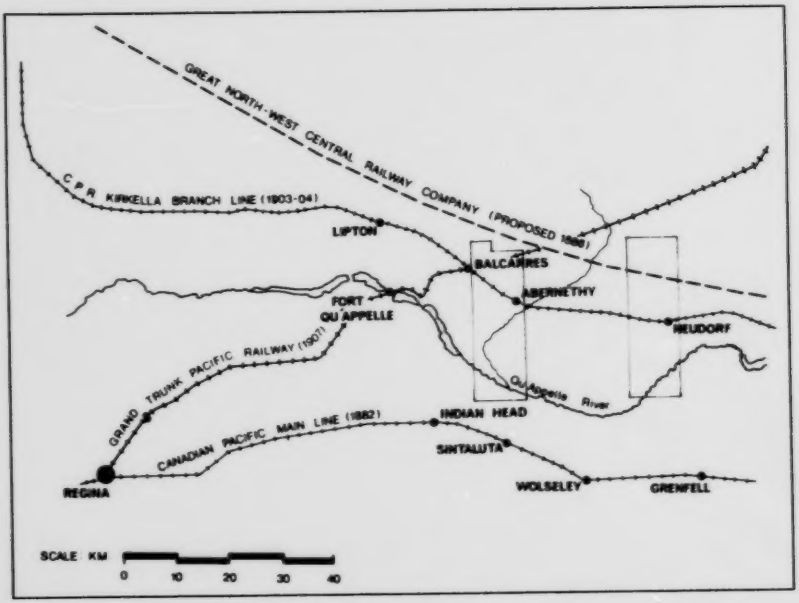


Fig. 5. Rail linkage in Abernethy District, 1882-1920. The dotted line indicates the proposed route of the Great North West Central Railway. Adapted from the map accompanying a memo to Privy Council, 23 November 1886 (National Archives of Canada, Department of Interior Records, RG15, Vol. 247, File No. 251149, Part 3).

known as the Great North West Central Railway Company, required a minimum of $25,000 per mile to finance rail construction. This request was approved by order-in-council on 3 August 1886.[51]

Further extensions of the initial construction deadline were passed by three orders-in-council in November 1887, August 1888, and July 1889.[52] While the Great North West Central Railway Company had been incorporated for over three years, it had failed to build the first 50 miles of track. While the details remain obscure, the principal failing of the corporators appears to have been their inability to raise sufficient money to proceed with the work. By September 1889, the company had spent less than $80 000 on construction.[53]

On 16 September 1889, the five original corporators of the GNWC Railway concluded an agreement with financier J.A. Codd and a group of European capitalists to change the corporate membership of the company and to provide a new injection of capital to permit the building of the rail line. Under the terms of this agreement:

i) Bonds to the amount of £1 500 000 would be sold to a European financial group, provided that the first 50 miles had been built and opened to traffic, and that all debts under Clause 27 of the railroad's charter had been paid.
ii) Arrangements would be made for a private syndicate to pay £200 000 upon the final inspection of the first 50 miles.

All the original corporators transferred their shares to Codd and his associates. The former shareholders, represented by A. Charlebois, became sub-contractors to build the track for the new owners. Only two years later, the sub-contractors brought suit against the GNWC Railway Company for non-payment. The Chancery Court of Ontario subsequently ruled that the company had not deposited bonds as required by its charter and that all monies, ($622 226) and interest were then due and payable.

The history of the GNWC Railway was further complicated by charges of corruption. During the 1886 House of Commons debate on the company's contract extension, it was revealed that a Member of Parliament had received a gratuity of $386 000 worth of Souris and Rocky Mountain stock. D.W. Woodsworth, a Nova Scotia M.P., charged that James Beaty (West Toronto) had been the recipient. Woodsworth stated that he had introduced the original Great North West Central Railway Bill in 1884 at Beaty's behest. Beaty had a subsequent bill drawn up to amend this charter. Woodsworth related:

I looked at the Bill and found that all the guards, all the checks, ensuring payment to the workmen upon the road — the old Souris and Rocky Mountain Railway, of which this was a revival — had been left out.

Woodsworth continued:

There was not an honest attempt to build one foot of this road. There was not an honest attempt to put a theodolite on the road but merely to hawk (the charter) of a road ... I say this was a charter selling and nothing else.[54]

Whether Woodsworth's charges were completely true is difficult to determine, but Beaty's involvement in the GNWC Railway had been a particularly blatant example of conflict of interest in the awarding of railway contracts. While the GNWC and other railway companies con-

tinued to be the subject of hot debate in the Commons, railroad construction remained a chimera for the settlers north of the Qu'Appelle River.

In 1898 the charter of the Great North West Central Railway was assumed by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company with all unearned land rights. Yet further delays occurred. In 1902 W.R. Motherwell and his fellow Abernethy settlers petitioned Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier:

> *The settlers north of the Qu'Appelle Valley have been for the past 15 years petitioning, praying, beseeching and imploring with your Government and the Government that preceded yours, for the carrying out of the charter obligations entered into by the N.W. Central Railway with the Parliament of Canada, just 20 years ago. We have season after season placed reliable statistics before you setting forth the number of settlers, acreage under cultivation and total grain grown, and the immediate necessity of Railway facilities to carry these products to the markets of the world. You have also been shown that no matter how rich a country's natural resources may be, that it is impossible for farmers to haul wheat from 20 to 35 miles across the Qu'Appelle whose banks are 300 to 400 feet high, and leave anything like a reasonable result of the tiller's toil in his hands at the end of the year ....*[55]

Interminable delays in railroad construction could hardly fail to have serious economic consequences for the farming population north of the Qu'Appelle River. One way to determine the impact of accessible rail service on the eventual success or failure of homesteaders is to tabulate homestead cancellation rates for townships of varying remoteness to the railway. In the Abernethy district, Township 19, Range 11, which possessed lands ranging between six and 14 miles from grain-loading facilities on the CPR, recorded 41 patents to 42 cancellations, for a cancellation rate of slightly more than 50 percent. Township 20, ranging between 14 and 22 miles from the railway, recorded 40 patents to 52 cancellations, for a 57 percent rate of cancellation. Township 21, however, ranging between 22 and 30 straight line miles, recorded only 13 patents to 39 cancellations, for a cancellation rate of 75 percent. Another measure of the economic difficulties experiences by settlers is the time lag between entry and patent. In Townships 19 and 20, homestead entrants in the 1880s took an average of approximately six years each to qualify for their patents. In Township 21, on the other hand, entrants occupied their lands for an average of nearly 12 years before they applied for

patents. The conclusion that the lack of rail service was largely responsible for the district's retarded development is supported by a 1905 article in the Abernethy *Abernethan*. The article revealed that in the previous decade, early settlers in the Balcarres area northwest of Abernethy had dropped out for lack of rail service.[56]

Thus, settlement in the Abernethy area was initially encouraged and ultimately inhibited by the experience of the Great North West Central Railway. While it is difficult to sort out all of the details of the railway's complicated history, the Dominion Government must bear a large degree of responsibility for granting extensions to the company in the face of overwhelming evidence of its incapability to carry out the charter. Particularly damning were revelations of financial involvement by members of the House of Commons and Senate. Individuals such as James Beaty and Senator Clemow evidently reaped a large return from the proceeds of the original land grant, while many settlers in the area north of the Qu'Appelle Valley were forced to the brink of bankruptcy.

German Lutheran Settlement at Neudorf

In 1889 German speaking immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe began to settle in the Pheasant Hills District 15 miles to the east of Abernethy. They were preceded by a number of Ontarian and British immigrants who had taken up lands in the early eighties. Most of these early settlers had dropped out by the end of the decade, and the area was relatively empty at the time of the German influx. While the German settlement was not formally organized under the auspices of a colonization company it quickly came to assume a monolithic character. German settlement at Neudorf began with a trickle of newcomers in 1889, followed by a flood of immigration in the early nineties, when more than half of the settlers in the district arrived. By 1895 settlement tailed off, possibly the result of three successive years of depressed wheat prices. In the late nineties, the flow of settlement recovered and reached another peak in 1902, just two years before the building of the Kirkella branch line of the CPR. With this last surge of immigration lands in the townships to the north of Neudorf were claimed and the settlement process was essentially complete.

The Germans' reasons for settling *en bloc* in the wooded and marshy lands of the Pheasant Hills are not entirely clear, but a subsequent article in the Abernethy *Abernethan* is instructive. The author observed that

while the land in the area of German settlement was more broken up than land on the open prairie, it was more conducive to stock raising.

> *After the experience of drought in the 1880s the advisability of having stock to fall back on when the wheat crop failed became apparent and large numbers in the early 1890s began to settle in the district, principally peoples of German nationality.*[57]

Whether or not the prior experience of drought had induced the Germans to settle together in the Pheasant Hills, it remained for each settler to select his own quarter-section. The application of the land acquisition model to land selection in the Neudorf area showed a high correlation between the year of entry and distance from the railway. Since the Germans arrived in the area via the CPR and then travelled north to claim their homesteads, it is reasonable to suppose that the direction of population flow influenced these results. Other variables explained only part of the remaining variability and one might conclude that many settlers did not employ a sophisticated selection process. It seems probable that language barriers impeded communication with Dominion Lands officials respecting the character of different lands. Correspondence with the Department of the Interior reveals that some of these settlers made entry for their homesteads sight unseen.[58] Some discovered after the fact that they were five or six miles from water.[59] Others arriving in mid-winter, claimed lands that were found to be covered with stones, scrub and marsh, after the snow cover melted in the spring.[60] Another factor which was not included in the model was the tendency of settlers to homestead in close proximity to friends and relatives. In Township 19, south of Neudorf, 30 of 78 entrants chose lands within two miles of settlers possessing identical surnames. Clearly many of these name matches were immediate relations. This figure would be considerably augmented if friends were added, since a number of Germans wrote to the Department of the Interior to request homesteads adjacent to those of specific individuals. The proximity of friends and relatives was not only psychologically desirable, but fulfilled essential economic functions in the initial period when pooled labour and other resources often constituted the difference between success and failure.

A tabulation of homestead cancellation rates for Neudorf area homesteaders shows a comparatively high rate of early economic survival among German settlers *via à vis* their Anglo-Canadian counterparts. In three townships around Neudorf of distances from the railway comparable to the Abernethy study townships, settlers recorded only 25 cancellations

to 64 successful applications, for a cancellation rate of 28 percent. Overall this failure rate is only slightly smaller than that of the Abernethy area, but the ethnic breakdown reveals striking differences. Seventeen of 27 or 63 percent of Anglo-Saxon settlers cancelled, but only 10 of 62 or 16 percent of the Germans failed to secure their patents. In other words, the cancellation rate of German settlers was half that of Anglo-Saxon settlers in the Abernethy area and only one-fourth as great as the rate registered by Anglo-Saxons in their own district of Neudorf.

In accounting for the Germans' apparent success in "proving-up" their homesteads and the Ontarian settlers' failure, certain demographic features of the two populations may be noted. First, clear differences existed in terms of marital status. Eighty-five percent of the German settlers in the Neudorf area were married, compared with fewer than 60 percent of the Anglo-Saxons. The much larger proportion of bachelors at Abernethy would imply a more mobile population. Second, the German settlers were older than their Abernethy neighbours. At the year of entry the average age of non-British nationals in the Neudorf area was 34, compared with 29 for the Abernethy settlers. Even more striking is the distribution which shows that more than one-third of the Germans were 40 years or older, while only one-sixth of the Anglo-Saxon settlers belonged to this age group (Fig. 6). Third, German families tended to be larger, averaging almost three children per settler, as opposed to 1.3 per Anglo-Saxon settler (Fig. 7). Large families provided the needed manpower for labour-intensive mixed farming operations. Labour demands were particularly heavy during the winter, when the Germans frequently kept their children home from school to help on the farm.[61] In the summer, they hired their sons out to Anglo-Saxon farmers for five dollars a month and their board.[62] In addition, the Germans' wives participated in heavy farm labour, performing such tasks as breaking, cultivating and hauling.[63] While lacking the financial resources of their Ontarian counterparts, the Germans possessed an apparent advantage in terms of available labour.

Yet, the mere achieving of a patent does not constitute a measure of the long-term performance of the homesteader. At best, it indicates that he had complied with the requirements of the Dominion Lands Act by breaking and cropping a minimum acreage and by building a habitable dwelling and then living in it. Following the lead of settlement studies performed in the United States, farm turnover and persistence rates were calculated at five-year intervals for one township in each of the two study areas. The information on farm ownership was obtained from a series of land title searches for these townships.

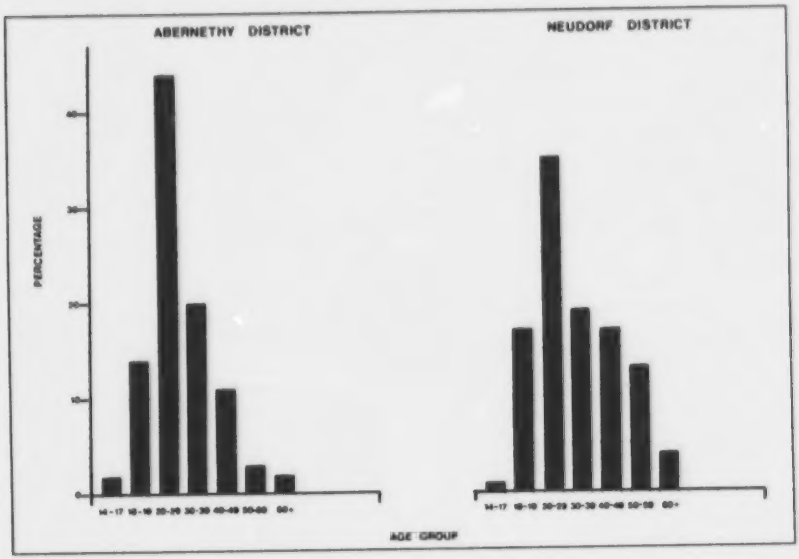


Fig. 6. Age distribution of Abernethy and Neudorf District homesteaders at the time of entry.

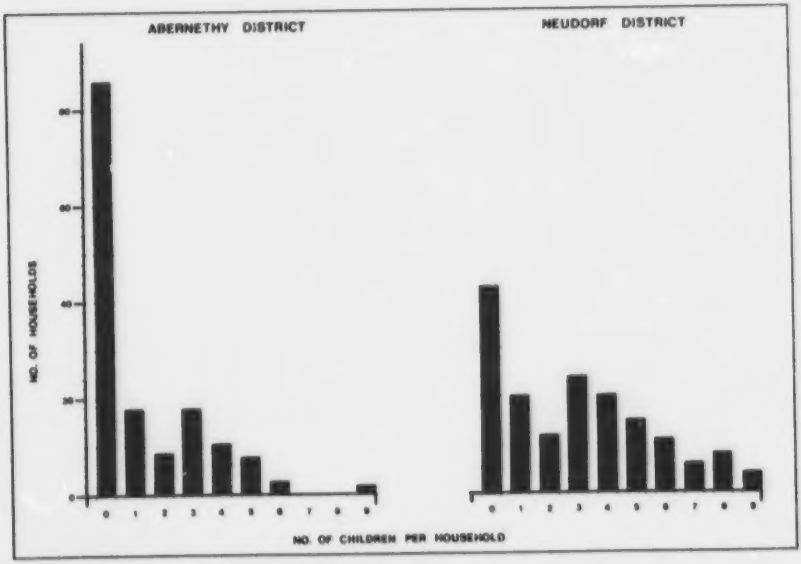


Fig. 7. Distribution of Abernethy and Neudorf District children per family at the time of entry.

The results of the persistence test indicate a reversal of the pattern established by the homestead cancellations, which showed the initial failure rate to be twice as high among the British Ontarians as it was among the Germans. After the issuing of patent, however, almost 30 percent of the Neudorf homesteaders dropped out before the next five years had passed, most of these within the first year. Nearly 50 percent sold out prior to 10 years. In the Abernethy township, on the other hand, more than 70 percent of the settlers were still present 10 years after patent. After 20 years, 40 percent of the Ontarians remained, a figure nearly double that of the Germans (Fig. 8).

To some extent the lower persistence of the Germans reflects the denser settlement of the Neudorf townships. German colonization at Neudorf took place principally after 1889, the year in which the right of pre-emption was abolished, effective 1 January 1890. Most Dominion Lands sections in the area found a different homesteader on each quarter. In the early period clear patches of land interspersed between wooded areas had provided a few easily broken acres sufficient to sustain a minimal lifestyle. But profit-oriented agriculture demanded a much larger

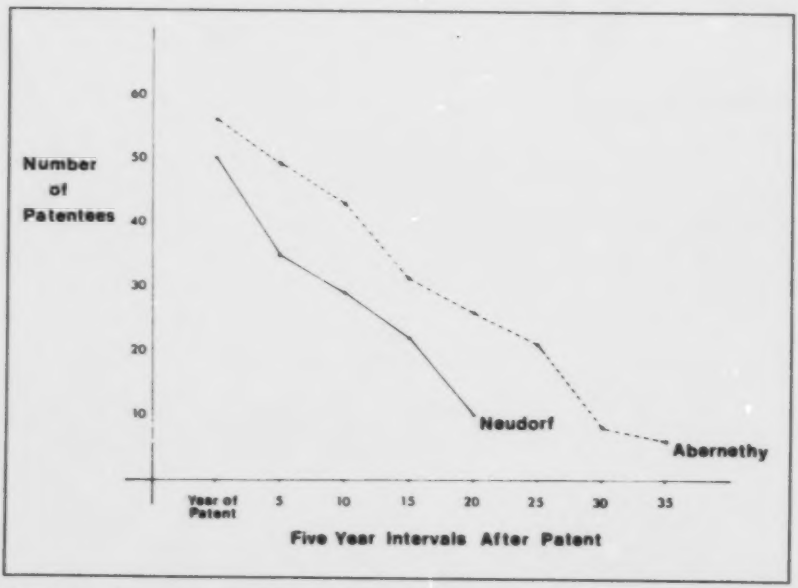


Fig. 8. Persistence of homesteaders in the Abernethy and Neudorf Districts. Rates were calculated for 106 homesteaders in the Abernethy-area township of Tp. 20 R 11 and the Neudorf-area township of Tp. 19 R 8. (Due to its late settlement, no titles were searched for the Neudorf homesteaders beyond 20 years after patent.).

cultivable land base. Costs involved in clearing wooded areas ran to several times those incurred in breaking open prairie and much of the land in the Neudorf area remained unbroken until the 1920s. Additional lands could be purchased when the CPR, Hudson's Bay and school lands were opened for sale, but if every patentee remained, he could look forward, on the average, to a modest expansion to 320 acres. On the secondary land, such acreage was probably insufficient to sustain a farm operation by the 1920s. As late as 1918 the average farm size in Township 19, Range 8, south of Neudorf, was only 340 acres, and one-fifth of the farmers possessed a single quarter section of 160 acres. For many Germans the road to prosperity was slow and marred by frequent failure.

The rapid disappearance of so many German homesteaders after the issuance of patent suggests that these settlers stayed only long enough to earn an equity before moving on to more suitable lands. Their perseverance through the "proving-up" period in some cases attests to their initial financial difficulties. At least one settler doggedly tried to eke out a living because he did not possess the $10 required for another entry. But, according to a local historian, many others "would have gladly returned to their native lands, had they the means to do so."[64]

In 1895, Senator W.D. Perley of Wolseley wrote to the Deputy Minister of the Interior to appeal on behalf of his German constituents to the north. His description of their situation illuminates many of the problems they were then facing.

> *I am told by several of them that for most of the summer season they haul water from one to five miles as they may happen to be near one or the other of four lakes. The want of water is the great difficulty they have to contend against. Most of the land is bluffy and light soil and this season the wheat is all frozen, I am buying to feed 200 bushels at 17 cents from one man. They haul wood to town 18 to 24 miles for a bag of poor flour at $1.50 per load at least 3 days and nights.*[65]

German settlers in the other colonies of the District of Assiniboia also experienced difficulties in finding water. In 1894, one Frederick Seibold of Balgonie wrote to the *Regina Leader* to state that he had been forced for want of water to abandon his farm. Claiming that he had sunk 17 wells to the depth of 70 feet on various parts of his homestead, he stated that it was impossible to draw water a long distance and prosper. Despite repeated promises by the local member of the Territorial

Assembly to send an auger, no action had been taken, and Seibold warned that all his neighbours would similarly be obliged to leave.[66]

Where did the Germans go after abandoning or selling their lands? A perusal of *Cummins Rural Directories* in the period shows that by the First World War, some German farmers with names identical to the original Neudorf settlers had occupied lands in townships immediately west and to the north of the original settlement.[67] Township 19 in Range 9, to the west, had originally received a group of Anglo-Saxon settlers in the early eighties. Richard Acton remembered that the early settlers found the mouldboard plow to be inadequate to till the heavy textured soils.[68] This technological gap precipitated their early departure. By 1900, however, the appearance of the disc plow permitted the successful cultivation of these lands, and the Germans moved in. Some Germans also migrated to Grenfell to the south, and others to Manitoba.[69] In 1897, the Department of the Interior reported that as a result of economic difficulties Germans from various settlements in the District of Assiniboia had emigrated to Texas. A number of these later returned when they discovered conditions in Texas to be worse yet than those they had encountered in the North-West Territories.[70] In sharp contrast to official accounts of prosperity, the German migrations were indicative of widespread hardship among immigrant settlers.

The "Free Homestead" Policy and Abernethy Settlement

Given the central role that the Dominion Lands administration played in the disposal of lands in the Abernethy area, it could not fail to have a profound impact on the district's early development. Historians of western Canadian settlement have been concerned with assessing the positive and negative effects of Dominion Lands Policy. Evaluated solely in terms of its original purposes the Dominion Lands Policy was, as Chester Martin has suggested, an "imposing" success. There is no doubt that between 1870 and 1930, the western Canadian prairie was transformed into a settled agricultural region. That the Dominion government's land disposal system and immigration policy was to a significant degree responsible for this fact seems indisputable. Yet the means by which this settlement was achieved have been subject to frequent criticism. The grid survey system in particular has been cited as a bureaucratically expedient method of land subdivision that created great problems for the settlers it was intended to serve. Drafted in the abstract, it bore no relationship to the pre-settlement geographic character and land use patterns of the

prairie. Similarly, the adoption of the 160 acre quarter-section as the basic homestead unit was a bureaucratically neat solution, but officials may not have given enough consideration to the question of whether such a parcel was economically viable as a farm. Some writers such as Chester Martin and Vernon Fowke have drawn attention to the human toll that resulted from Dominion settlement policies, and have suggested that this factor must be considered in any evaluation of their overall impact.

The Dominion Lands Policy was formed in essentially two ways. Parliamentary legislation, in the form of the Dominion Lands Act, related orders-in-council and amendments, constituted the cornerstone of government settlement policy. Beyond the statutory changes, the Department of the Interior was obliged to interpret the law and draft regulations to carry out the "Purposes of the Dominion." Individual cases became precedents upon which administrative policy was based. In the course of applying the legislative provisions, the Department came under criticism from various quarters. Many homesteaders who had been unable to comply with the provisions of the Dominion Lands Act and its regulations complained of inflexible treatment by federal officials. Others claimed that the Department was too lenient in its approach and urged the rooting out of apparent speculators and fraudulent homesteaders. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, the Dominion Lands Policy was in a constant state of flux as the authorities experimented with new legislation in hopes of encouraging the rapid settlement envisaged in the National Policy.

It should be restated at the outset that a major discrepancy existed in the amended Dominion Lands Act in terms of access to free grant land between the Anglo-Saxon settlers at Abernethy and the German-speaking settlers at Neudorf. Most Abernethy area settlers had arrived in the early eighties. Under the liberal provisions of the act at the time, these settlers were entitled to make entry for a homestead, pre-emption and second homestead. For some settlers the total cash outlay required to obtain three quarter-sections of prime farmland was only $420.

As a result of perceived widespread land speculation, in 1884 the Canadian Parliament passed amendments to the Dominion Lands Act providing for the abolition of both the second homestead and pre-emption privilege to take effect in 1886.[71] Under normal circumstances, settlers arriving in 1882 and 1883 would have received their patents by 1886, at which time they would have bought the pre-emption for $2.50 per acre and made entry for a second homestead. But recurrent crop failures prevented most settlers from proving up their homesteads in the specified three-year period. Settlers in 28 districts of the North-West Territories, principally Anglo-Canadian areas, petitioned Parliament for extensions to

the period of eligibility for pre-emptions and second homesteads.[72] Their petitions were supported by a resolution passed by the North-West Territorial Assembly:

> *Whereas it has been proved that for the success of the settler, it is necessary for him to engage in both grain and stock raising, and for this purpose he requires not less than three hundred and twenty acres of land; therefore the Assembly prays that the right of pre-emption be extended beyond the first of January eighteen hundred and ninety.*[73]

Through the parliamentary efforts of N.F. Davin, M.P. for West Assiniboia, and later of Edgar Dewdney, Minister of the Interior, the period of entitlement for early entrants was eventually extended retroactively to 1889 in both instances.[74] Those settlers who did not elect to purchase their pre-emptions were given the opportunity to convert their pre-emption entries to second homesteads. The effect of this provision was to permit a settler to obtain two contiguous quarter-sections for an outlay of $20. Such generous provisions were a windfall to the predominantly Anglo-Canadian settlers in the 1880s. They were also a testament to their dominant position in the emerging political structure of the District of Assiniboia.

By the time German settlers had arrived at Neudorf after 1889, however, the right of pre-emption and of second homestead entry had been abolished. Not only were they restricted to a single quarter-section of free grant land, but they settled on marginal land, only a fraction of which was arable. Lacking a political voice the Germans were consigned to an economic backwater for decades after their arrival.

A second major pitfall in land administration was the indiscriminate opening of all manner of lands for homestead entry, regardless of their suitability for agricultural settlement. To some extent this policy was the result of the haste with which the original survey was conducted. Dominion Land surveyors had neither the time nor the expertise to appraise accurately the potential of various lands for agricultural purposes. They were required to rate the soils of the surveyed townships on a scale of one to four, but since no sophisticated criteria were established, the evaluations often gave a misleading impression. A case in point is the Pheasant Hills area to the east of Abernethy. In Townships 19 and 20, in Range 8 west of the 2nd Meridian, surveyors reported that most were predominantly second class although some lands were first class, and a significant proportion were of tertiary quality. Yet, despite early failures on these

lands by some Anglo-Saxon homesteaders in the early eighties, all even-numbered quarters in these townships were reopened to entry by German settlers in the early nineties.

The adverse effects of opening these lands to settlement were worsened by the Germans' ignorance of the provisions of the Dominion Lands Act. The unfortunate case of Karl Hopp, a German settler at Neudorf, gives credence to the charges of "human wastage" in settlement. In December 1898, Hopp wrote to request the right to abandon his homestead in favour of another entry.[75] Stating that he had tried in vain to cultivate his lands during the previous five years, Hopp recorded his meagre yields in each year:

Year	Bushels Sown	Reaped
1894	15	30
1895	25	60
1896	40	200
1897	45	11
1898	75	100
TOTAL	200	401

If contemporary maximum wheat prices are tabulated, Hopp's net revenue from wheat sales, after the deduction of seed grain, was $106 or $21 per year. From this revenue he was obliged to pay implement charges, feed his livestock, and provide for his wife and six children. Obviously Hopp supplemented his income either by hiring his children out to other farmers or through the sale of cordwood and hay, but the wheat revenues may be taken as ample verification of his claims of destitution.

Hopp's case was complicated by his ignorance of technicalities in the Dominion Lands regulations, possibly resulting from language barriers. In February 1898 he had applied for a patent for his homestead, and the Department had accordingly issued a certificate of recommendation. Prior to receiving the actual patent, however, he wrote back in December to state the impossibility of making a living on his farm and to request an abandonment of his claim to permit him to make another entry.

Since Hopp had already been issued a certificate of recommendation, however, the Department ruled that Hopp's request for an abandonment could not be entertained. In consolation, a Department officer wrote:

> *In view of your statement that after five years of trial you have found it impossible to make a living for yourself and family upon*

> *the land, an application from you for permission to buy a quarter section at the minimum price of $1 per acre, subject to the ordinary homestead conditions, would receive consideration.*[76]

Under the Department's terms of reference its decision to permit Hopp to purchase another quarter for $1 an acre seemed a lenient gesture. To Hopp, however, the opportunity to buy a homestead for a price exceeding his total grain income over the preceding five years must have seemed a cruel joke.

It might be noted that Hopp was slow to request an abandonment. But even if he had wished to leave his homestead earlier, he probably could not have done so. Additional homestead entries required an entry fee. Hopp's neighbour Jacob Popp, who found himself in a similar situation, wrote that he "would have taken up another farm if I had been able to pay $10." Popp could not exchange his homestead because his house "cost me that last bit of money I had."[77]

In August 1899, a Departmental Homestead Inspector visited the Hopp homestead to corroborate Hopp's statements and discovered that he had died several months earlier. He described the land as follows:

> *The land is of a very inferior quality for agricultural purpose as it is very rough and stoney also being full of small sloughs and willow shrubs. It is best adapted for grazing pasture.*[78]

Nor was Hopp's experience of settling on unfit land an isolated case. Several settlers in the Neudorf area wrote to the Department of the Interior with similar complaints. In addition to problems with scrub, marsh and stones, a large number discovered that there was no water to be found for miles around. It would be unfair to blame the Dominion Lands administration for the lack of water on these lands but, again, language barriers probably inhibited some settlers from seeking early abandonments.

In studying a cross-section of homestead files in the two areas, one gains the impression that notwithstanding inequities in the legislation, the actual administration of the Dominion Lands Act was carried out in a reasonably fair manner. Within the guidelines of the Act, Interior Department officials were concerned principally with encouraging *bona fide* settlers to stay on the land. Often they were caught in the unenviable position of trying to adopt a flexible approach to meet the needs of legitimate settlers, while being forced to accommodate the demands of "claim jumpers" seeking to cancel the original settler's entry. The admin-

istrators could not ignore the legislative provisions, but they frequently bent the rules to give the homesteaders a chance to comply with the Act.

In terms of the settler's duties, for example, Department of Interior officials were obliged to insist that the mandatory period of residence on the homestead be completed. At Abernethy James Gaddis, who had resided two and one-half miles from his homestead quarter, requested a waiver of the two-mile limit to permit him to obtain a patent without having lived on the land. His request was refused.[79] On the other hand, the Department frequently granted informal extensions to settlers to permit them extra time in which to fulfill their responsibilities. In 1895, the Neudorf settler Jacob Adolf stated that he wished to go into service to earn money for the purchase of farm implements. A Department official wrote back to state that while the Commissioner could not grant a leave of absence,

> *in consideration, however, of your agreement to have the five acres cropped during the coming season and a farther acreage broken, the Agent will be instructed not to accept any application for cancellation without reference to this office it being understood that you will go into permanent residence not later than the 15th of May 1896.*[80]

In other words, the Department was granting the equivalent to a leave, without technically breaking its own regulations.

At Balcarres, George Balfour wrote to state his intention of leaving his homestead to earn money during the summer of 1889. Fearing attempts by his neighbours to jump his claim Balfour asked, "will it please your Hon. to grant me leave of abstinence [sic] for say six months from the first of April 1889?"[81] Whether or not Balfour's choice of words was a Freudian slip, the Department granted him his request.

In those cases in which a settler had unknowingly broken the regulations, the Department tended to take a lenient approach provided it was convinced of his *bona fide* intentions. In 1882 William McKay had settled on the west half of section 4 in Township 20, Range 11, W 2nd Meridian. McKay undertook fairly extensive improvements; by 1885 he had placed 45 acres under crop and possessed $400 worth of buildings. That year, in apparent ignorance of the law, he entered into an agreement to sell his lands prior to obtaining a certificate of recommendation for patent. H.H. Smith, Dominion Lands Commissioner, charged Homestead Inspector Arsenault with investigating the matter. Arsenault reported that McKay

> *is a good, honest, innocent, harmless soul, not well posted in the land regulations, and I am confident he signed the agreement in question ignorant of the land law. Seems the assignee is represented as a man who will take advantage of his neighbour if he can and lead an innocent person into a trap ....*[82]

On the basis of this report, Smith recommended clemency. While McKay had forfeited his entry, Smith recommended that he be given the opportunity to purchase his half section at $1.25 per acre and this action was concurred in by the Ottawa authorities.

On the other hand, it appears that settlers of different ethnic origins were sometimes disadvantaged by their unfamiliarity with the English language in dealings with the Department of Interior. The Department conducted all business and correspondence in English. Correspondence from German settlers at Neudorf and French-speaking Métis at Qu'Appelle suggests that many individuals were ignorant of the provisions of the Dominion Lands Act, and suffered as a result.

The contrasting settlement experience of the Abernethy and Neudorf districts was representative of developments in other Anglo-Ontarian and East European immigrant colonies in Western Canada. The Anglo-Ontarians arrived first, and claimed the best lands that were most suited to wheat production. By virtue of occupying a dominant position in the political structure of the North-West Territories, they were able to lobby effectively to extend the period of eligibility for bonus quarter-sections of land, (the pre-emption and second homestead privilege). Those farmers who could not afford to purchase their pre-emptions were given the additional option of converting their pre-emptions to second homesteads. As a result many Anglo-Ontarians obtained 320 acres of excellent farm land for only $20; those who retained their pre-emption entries obtained 480 acres of land for $420. In either instance, they possessed an enormous advantage over subsequent settlers.

Despite these advantages in purchasing land the Anglo-Saxon homesteaders often experienced considerable hardship that attended the lack of accessible rail linkage during the Abernethy district's first two decades. The Macdonald government's repeated granting of extensions to the Great North West Central Railway Company, in which several prominent Conservatives held a healthy interest, helped retard settlement north of the Qu'Appelle River. Ottawa's perceived unresponsiveness to the farmers' needs later contributed to the outbreak of agrarian radicalism in 1901.

The German settlers at Neudorf arrived principally after 1889, the year in which the right of pre-emption was abolished. They were thus restricted to one quarter-section of free grant land. The value of their homestead quarters was further reduced by the generally marginal nature of lands in the Pheasant Hills district, which tended to be broken up by scrub and marsh and whose soils were of secondary quality. Other difficulties stemmed from language barriers that hindered communication with the Department of Interior regarding the Germans' homesteads.

The appearance of white settlement in the central Qu'Appelle region was accompanied by a diminution in the fortunes of the native inhabitants who had previously occupied these lands. For Indians who had experienced the loss of the buffalo, their economic mainstay, the reserve system at least provided them with the essential means of subsistence. The Métis had fewer protections. While federal authorities passed various bills and orders-in-council providing for Métis land claims, most of these lands fell into the possession of white settlers or land companies shortly after their disposal. The Indians and Métis continued to live in the region, but on the margins of the new white society that had asserted its dominance.

II. ESTIMATES OF HOMESTEADING COSTS IN THE ABERNETHY DISTRICT IN THE SETTLEMENT PERIOD

Claiming land was only the first stage in the settlement process. Since free grant land was unimproved Abernethy settlers confronted the task of building necessary structures and preparing their land for crop. To fully understand the community's subsequent economic development it is necessary to determine how much capital was really required in "proving up" a homestead. One recent study estimated that average start-up costs of settlement on the prairies were about $1000 in 1900.[1] Yet homesteading costs were not fixed for all settlers. They could be affected by a multiplicity of variables including the settlers' cultural background, the type of farming practised, family size and relationships with neighbours. Geographical factors, such as access to wood and water, could also have a significant impact on start-up costs. Detailed analysis is needed to differentiate the costs among different settlement groups.

For this chapter, homesteading costs were tabulated both for Abernethy settlers and for the German-speaking peasant homesteaders at the neighbouring community of Neudorf. The German immigrants were included as base for comparison to help establish the minimum amount required to set up a homestead. All 461 Department of the Interior homestead files relating to six townships — three at Abernethy and three at Neudorf — were examined. Most of these files contain the Application for Patent, a form which required the homesteader to state, among other things, the extent and value of his improvements. These improvements usually include the homesteader's dwelling and outbuildings, as well as the amount of acreage broken, cultivated and fenced. Since the Application for Patent was filled out after the settler had performed his requisite duties under the Dominion Lands Act, the values recorded in the files do not reflect the initial expenditures so much as the accumulated improvements made in the first three or more years. For the Abernethy area, the

mean year of application was 1894, for Neudorf 1901. In addition to the quantitative data, qualitative sources such as pioneer diaries, early newspapers, colonization journals, and immigration pamphlets have been consulted to provide a larger context in which to treat the Abernethy area findings.

In approaching the question of homesteading costs, it is useful first to determine the extent of financial resources available to the settler. The absence of concrete data in this instance requires that an approximation of resources be reconstructed through individual case examples.

Settlers arriving in the townships surrounding Abernethy between 1882 and 1905, formed part of the preponderant Ontarian migration to Western Canada in the 30 years after Confederation. In his studies of Peel County after 1850, David Gagan has shown how the prevailing Ontarian inheritance system forced younger sons off the farm, many of whom joined the massive migration to the prairies.[2] Gagan's figures respecting the average debt per farm suggest that little surplus was available to the second and third sons of most Ontarian farmers. These sons may have worked for a few years before taking up a homestead, but a demographic analysis of Abernethy homesteaders shows that this group contained a large portion of very young men — 40 percent were 24 years or younger and 23 percent were 21 or younger. Given the then current scales of pay in Ontario,[3] $1000 seems a very large amount for men with only two or three years in the work force to have saved.

Wages were higher in Western Canada than in the East, although the maximum wage obtainable there for experienced farm hands was $35 per month, including board.[4] Threshing labourers were paid at a higher rate, but the threshing season lasted only two months, and the thresher was often obliged, if he could find work for the winter, to hire on at a very modest salary. Agricultural historian John Thompson has argued that most harvest hands would have experienced great difficulty in raising even $600, which was the figure cited by Saskatchewan premier Walter Scott in 1906, as the minimum required to establish a homestead.[5]

Similar inferences may be drawn from the case studies of individual settlers. After graduating from the Ontarian Agricultural College, W.R. Motherwell, the third son of a Lanark County farmer, came west in the spring of 1881. He did not immediately file for a homestead, but worked for two summers and harvest seasons in Manitoba before settling in the Pheasant Plains area of what was then the District of Assiniboia in 1882. It is difficult to determine how much money Motherwell brought to his homesteading venture, but the possibility of financial assistance from his impoverished parents seems remote. It is equally improbable that he

saved large sums during two expensive years at college. Taking into consideration the current farm wages, the most plausible range of capital that Motherwell might have earned and saved in the two years following his graduation is $400 to $600.

Testimonials of other settlers in the Qu'Appelle region indicate the amount of liquid capital which many newcomers brought. John Burton, aged 21, homesteaded two miles north of the present village of Abernethy in 1882. A native of Bruce County, Ontario, Burton related that he had only $65 when he arrived.[6] Samuel Copithorn, who took up land northwest of Balcarres, emigrated from Toronto with a year's earnings of $200 in his pocket.[7] Both settlers eventually became successful farmers. Indeed, the pages of contemporary agricultural journals and immigration pamphlets are filled with dozens of similar testimonials vis-à-vis meagre starting capital.[8]

Local newpapers from the settlement period confirm that many settlers brought only a few hundred dollars to their farming ventures. In April 1889, the *Regina Leader* reported the arrival of 53 Canadians and 22 settlers of other nationalities. The total value of their effects was $6000, and cash, $12 000, giving a average figure of $240 per settler as a starting capital.[9] In another report the *Leader* noted that 50 Ukrainian families at Batoche each possessed capital ranging between $40 and $1000.[10] In 1885, German immigrants established the colony of New Toulcha north of Balgonie. Of 13 farmers surveyed by the *Leader*, none had owned more than $250 at the outset. Each German had shared ownership of a team of oxen, harness, plough and wagon with another settler.[11] It could be misleading to treat these testimonials and journalistic accounts as representative of the majority, but there is ample evidence to support the view, commonly held in the period, that "energy, experience, judgment, and enterprise"[12] were probably more important to the establishing of a successful farm than a large initial investment.

If a large starting capital was beyond the reach of many settlers, it is useful to explore alternative forms of financing that might have been available. Under the terms of the Dominion Lands Act, a settler was prohibited from mortgaging homestead lands prior to the issuing of a patent.[13] While the minimum "proving-up" period was three years, the majority of settlers took even longer to fulfill their homestead duties.[14] The homesteader might negotiate a bank loan, but with little collateral it seems unlikely that banks would have advanced him more than a few hundred dollars.

Land purchased from corporate interests could be mortgaged, but required a down payment. Canadian Pacific Railway land could be ac-

quired with an initial payment of one-sixth or one-tenth of the purchase price, followed by five equal annual installments. In the period before 1900, CPR land commonly sold at prices ranging from $2.50 to $5 per acre,[15] depending on its distance from the railroad and grain handling facilities. In these instances, a settler was obliged to pay out at least $66.67 initially for a quarter section purchased on time, but often this payment was a much larger sum. As the agrarian sector finally began to fill out after 1900, CPR land prices jumped dramatically. After 1900, therefore, purchased land tended to be prohibitively expensive for the newcomer of limited means.

By tabulating the individual costs involved one can determine the minimum expenditure for establishing a farm. The first and most essential expenditure encountered by the prairie settler was the cost of building a shelter. Ankli and Litt have estimated the cost of housing at $200 to $300 for most settlers. They based this conclusion on two sources: an article on early housing written from a series of pioneer questionnaires distributed by the Saskatchewan Archives Board in 1955 and James M. Minifie's *Homesteader*,[16] in which Minifie cites the valuation of $400 placed by his father on his homestead Application for Patent form. Yet, a quantitative investigation of homestead applications suggests a lower figure. In the Abernethy district, 106 settlers, largely of Anglo-Saxon Ontarian origin, assessed their houses at an average value of $253, but at Neudorf, 147 Germans valued their dwellings at an average of only $168.

The criteria employed in these valuations may have varied from one applicant to the next. It is not clear, for example, to what extent the applicants took into consideration the cost of materials, the labour cost or the overall market value. The paltry values recorded by a large proportion of the settlers suggest, however, that capital expenditures for housing were often very small indeed. In the two study areas, 46 percent of the homesteaders valued their houses at $100 or less and 17 percent recorded values of $50 or less. Although some settlers placed values of $1000 or more on their houses, it should be remembered that these valuations were made at the time of application, several years after the entry. Even these relatively prosperous settlers frequently put up cheaper temporary structures at the outset. These structures served a shelters for a year or two until a more substantial residence could be built. The values found in the homestead files are therefore probably higher than the actual initial investment.

In the Neudorf area, the log dwellings listed in the homestead files were preceded by even more primitive initial shelters. A local resident has described the building of these habitations:

> *The first thing they would do was dig a hole in the ground and bank it up with sods, put a few poles and hay on top, make a big oven of clay in the middle of the house, no floor, and live in it until they built a log house.*[17]

Such mean lodgings were common among the poorer European peasant immigrants, but some of the Anglo-Saxons built similar shelters. An English family in the Primitive Methodist Colony northeast of Abernethy "spent their first winter in a dugout in the east side of a hill. The roof was covered with green poles, dirt, and hay."[18]

Savings on housing costs stemmed principally from the availability of indigenous building materials. Sod was obtained simply by ploughing the prairie turf. Logs could be collected at little or no capital cost, particularly in the early period, when settlement tended to cling to the parkland belt and the woodland-prairie margin. In these areas the settler's actual investment was limited to the purchase of nails and tools, lumber for doors, door frames, windows and, occasionally, flooring and roofing. Poorer settlers typically opted for a sod roof and a dirt floor. One farmer in Manitoba in the early 1880s suggested that $60 to $75 was required for pine flooring, window and door frames.[19] Another, writing in 1895, estimated the cost of lumber finishing for all his farm buildings to have been $110.[20] A 1902 immigration pamphlet set the lumber cost of doors and windows for a log house at $50.[21] At Neudorf valuations of homestead dwellings ranged as low as $5, suggesting that a settler could build a shelter with an almost negligible investment as long as he was prepared to forego all amenities and comforts for the first year or two.

Most Abernethy and Neudorf settlers had the initial advantage of being able to choose lands near woods. The great majority of homesteaders in both areas built their first dwellings of logs. Figure 9 is a view of W.R. Motherwell's first log house near Abernethy. As the range of homestead lands expanded into the true prairie of the Palliser Triangle after 1900, many settlers were obliged to purchase more of their building materials. Even there, however, a habitable shanty could be put up with a relatively modest outlay. Willem de Gelder, a Dutch immigrant who homesteaded north of Morse, Saskatchewan in 1910, built a 10 foot by 12 foot lumber and shiplap shanty for $100 including extra labour costs.[22]

This last example illustrates that the cost of shelter was also related to the size of family that was to be housed. Western Canadian settlement was characterized by a large proportion of bachelor homesteaders, and in the Abernethy area, more than one-third of the homestead applicants were unmarried at the time of application. Since some of the applicants had

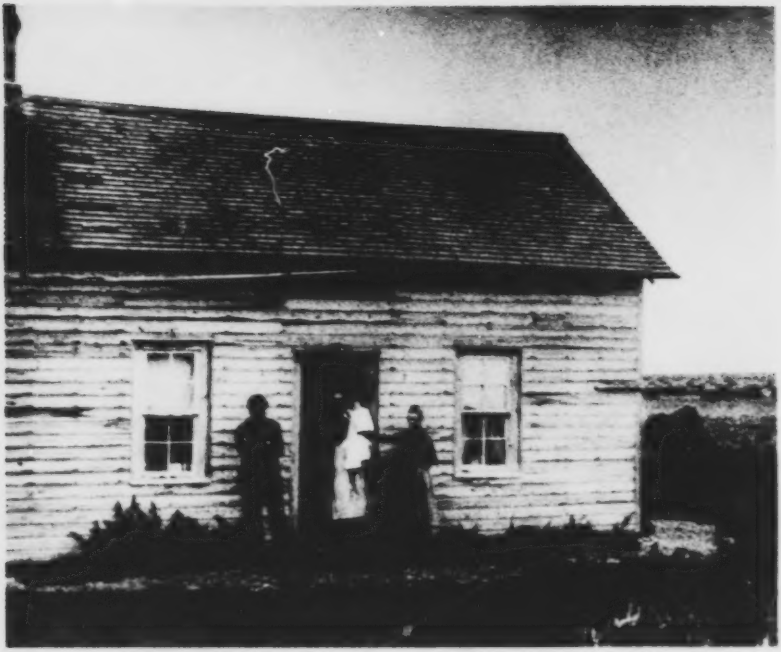


Fig. 9. W.R. Motherwell and his family in front of his log house, ca. 1890. The house was built in 1883 and later faced with clapboard siding. (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina).

married in the interval between entry and application, an even larger proportion was single at the outset. Bachelors tended to select their lands adjacent to the homesteads of their friends with whom they would share accommodation during the first year or two. In addition to providing needed company on the lonely frontier, these arrangements were of economic importance. Settlers could save money by sharing the expenses of food and shelter and by pooling their equipment and labour.

The Dominion Lands Act permitted a settler to postpone establishing a residence on his homestead provided that he lived within a radius of two miles from his quarter-section after the initial entry.[23] He was still obligated to build a "habitable" dwelling and live in it for three months prior to application, but his provision allowed him to live with neighbours for up to 33 of the 36 month "proving-up" period. That many took advantage of the clause is evident from a reading of individual homestead files. Shared living arrangements were common not only among young bachelors, but also among married homesteaders who had left their wives in

Ontario for one or two years until they were in a position to bring them out to a finished home.

The settler also required a shelter for his livestock. In the Abernethy area study, only one of the homesteaders reported the existence of a barn, although roughly half of the Anglo-Saxons and 75 percent of German settlers stated that they possessed stables. The average value reported for the Germans' stables was $75 compared with $139 for the Anglo-Saxons. As was the case with the house values, these arrangements for stables probably reflect the market value and are higher than the actual capital investment. Most respondents stated that their stables were made from logs. This obviously represented a great saving in material costs. Granaries and other outbuildings were also principally constructed of logs. Abernethy applicants valued their granaries and outbuildings at an average of $79; Neudorf homesteaders appraised their outbuildings at $58. Overall, if the structural improvements on homesteads in the study areas are broken down by quartile, a wide variation in assessed values is revealed (Table 1).

Beyond the structural costs, establishing a residence entailed expenditures for sundry household items, including a stove, furniture, bedding, and kitchenware. Estimates for these costs vary from one pioneer account to the next, a fact which may be indicative of the diversity of needs and resources of different shelters. With respect to stoves, it appears that the Ankli-Litt estimate of $40 is higher than the essential minimum. In 1891 the *Qu'Appelle Vidette* carried an advertisement for "cheap patent stoves" ranging in price from $16 to $80.[24] Isaac Cowie's pamphlet *The Edmonton Country*, published in 1901, reported that cooking stoves in that locality could be purchased for $23 to $26.50.[25] Georgina Binnie-Clark, who settled north of Fort Qu'Appelle in 1905, later wrote that she had purchased a second-hand stove for $15.[26]

Other necessary chattels could be purchased relatively cheaply. Cowie's pamphlet recorded the price of hardwood chairs to be from 55 cents to $1; tables, $3 or more; and bedsteads, from $4 up.[27] Alternatively, all of these articles could be handmade. Tables and chairs might be constructed with the available supply of timber, and beds were commonly made by sewing a tick and filling it with straw. Under the most frugal circumstances, settlers were still obliged to purchase lamps, bedding, kitchen utensils and tools, such as axes, saws and nails. Contemporary immigration pamphlets suggest that the costs of furnishing a log house could range between $20 and $75.[28] The minimum tools required by a settler building his own log house would seem to include a spade, crosscut saw, hammer, chisel, brace and bits, planes, auger, axe, and some

TABLE 1. Value of homestead structural improvements by quartile, Abernethy and Neudorf Districts, 1882-1917, in current dollars.*

	I	II	III	IV	
Value of Dwelling	$5-75	$75-150	$150-250	$250-1500	(n:303)
Value of Stable	5-30	30-50	50-100	100-725	(n:147)
Value of Granaries & Out-buildings	2-20	20-50	50-75	75-400	(n:81)
Value of Fencing	5-20	20-50	50-100	100-500	(n:111)
TOTAL	$17-145	$145-300	$300-525	$525-3125	

* In terms of constant dollars, house values increased overall after 1900. The mean valuation for pre-1900 dwellings was $201 (1900 dollars) compared with a mean of $258 between 1900 and 1914. If valuations are grouped by five year intervals, however, the trend is less clear.

Interval	No. of Observations	Mean Valuation
1886-89	53	$209
1890-94	40	354
1895-99	106	139
1900-04	43	228
1905-09	40	296
1910-14	14	238

The low average recorded between 1895 and 1899 reflects the preponderance of poorer settlers at Neudorf in this period (89 of 106). Apart from this period, house values averaged $271 before 1900, and actually dropped slightly after the turn of the century.

nails. In 1902, these items cost between $11.40 and $21.70 at Edmonton.[29]

No settler could avoid the necessary expenditures for provisions, although estimates of food costs diverge greatly from one contemporary account to the next. In 1882 John Macoun wrote that a settler with a family of five would spend about $250 on provisions during the first year.[30] A year later, however, a British settler in Manitoba estimated his cash requirements for groceries to be only $20.[31] Obviously the outlay for groceries varied with the size of family and the kind of lifestyle the settler pursued. Two accounts — an immigration pamphlet published in 1902[32] and a Dutch homesteader's tabulation written in 1910[33] — place the cost of provisions for a bachelor settler at about $90 to $120.

This capital requirement would tend to increase in the case of a larger family, although poorer peasant settlers could and did make do with less. An immigration pamphlet published in 1882 stated that the cost of provisions for one family of five Mennonites at a subsistence level had been $93.[34] Their diet consisted almost solely of flour, pork and beans. Alternatively a settler could spend much more. In 1907, for example, Georgina Binnie-Clark spent $245 for groceries, flour, meat, repairs and veterinary fees, although in her view the "degree of necessity" was a much smaller amount.[35]

Fencing was a requirement for farmers who raised livestock, but the most striking aspect of farm fencing in the Abernethy district in the homesteading period was its absence. Of 461 applicants, only 111 reported the presence of fencing on their homesteads. Among this group, there were wide variations in acreage fenced. The average extent was 44 acres at Neudorf and 63 acres at Abernethy, but the majority enclosed 35 acres or less and more than 20 percent fenced in areas of 20 acres or less. Settlers also reported widely divergent expenditures for fencing. One appraisal stated a cost of only 19 cents per acre; others valued homestead fencing at up to $4 per acre. Overall, the mean cost for Abernethy settlers was about $1.25 per acre, a figure which is confirmed by most estimates in the period.[36] Given that most settlers began farming with no more livestock than a yoke of oxen or team of horses, a sufficient initial expenditure for fencing in the 1880s and 1890s was $10 to $15 for a small pasture of 10 acres.

Water was an essential requirement for all settlers. Of the 19 Abernethy settlers who reported wells on their homestead applications, 14 recorded values of $50 or less and the average valuation was $23.50. Others who were less fortunate were obliged to abandon their homesteads altogether for lack of water. Still, the variability in these cases is so great

that they cannot reasonably be averaged with the costs incurred by those individuals who did strike water. Assuming that the settler did not need to hire a professional well-digger, he could avail himself of a government-owned digging apparatus for a nominal fee. One homesteader at Morse, Saskatchewan wrote that he spent 75 cents per foot to dig a well in 1912.[37] Another source for 1912 placed the cost of well-digging at $1 a foot for the first 50 feet. Thereafter the cost increased steadily until it reached $2 per foot at a depth of 100 feet.[38] The writer observed that in wooded areas water could generally be found at a depth of 20 to 40 feet. On the open prairie, despite the presence of occasional springs, a well-digger would usually be obliged to go to a much greater depth. Assuming that a settler struck water at 20 feet, as several Abernethy settlers appear to have done, the cost of digging a well, in 1900 dollars, was about $14. To crib his well the Morse homesteader estimated that he needed 300 feet of lumber, costing $9.[39] If this estimate is converted into 1900 dollars, the overall cost of constructing a well of 20 to 40 feet was $21 to $35.

Livestock constituted another homesteading cost that was highly variable. Professor Ankli has estimated the cost of horses to have been $75 to $100 at the turn of the century, and bases this figure on the 1901 census, which gives the average value of horses in Manitoba and the North-West Territories as $96 and $62 respectively. Since the census average includes horses of all sizes, the figures are misleading. The basic operations of breaking sod and pulling implements required heavy draught horses which were more expensive than the average. In 1881 a settler in Manitoba estimated the cost of a team of horses and harness to have been $325.[40] Walter Elkington, who settled north of Fort Qu'Appelle in 1891, wrote that teams of horses ranged between £30 and £60 or $150 to $300.[41] In 1912 a Dutch homesteader at Morse, Saskatchewan purchased a team of large sorrel horses for $450.[42] The following year, Boam's *The Prairie Provinces of Canada* included an estimate of $360 for a team of "good horses."[43]

Alternatively a farmer might purchase oxen to pull his implements. While a team of oxen sometimes cost $200 or more,[44] most estimates in the 1880-1900 period range between $100 and $130.[45] Costs varied according to the age and quality of the animals and to the time of year in which they were purchased. Oxen sold in the spring, for example, would command a higher price than those sold in the fall.[46] The usual practice was to purchase a yoke of oxen for the purpose of prairie breaking and to exchange them for more expensive horses a year or two later (Fig.10).

One homesteading cost that few settlers could avoid was the outlay for a wagon. Wagons were essential to the hauling of farm products to

Fig. 10. Breaking sod in the Bracken district, 1911. (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, B1410).

market centres and supplies from the town back to the homestead. They were used in the collection of wood for building and fuel, and were an essential means of transport to social and religious activities. Settlers could, and often did, begin farming with Red River carts worth $10,[47] but once they had begun to transport large quantities of farm produce, wood, and hay, the purchase of a more serviceable wagon was mandatory. Four sources for the 1880s give $80 as the standard price of a farm wagon,[48] a figure which does not seem to have changed for the entire period leading up to the First World War. These estimates pertain to the entire unit, including a four-wheel chassis and removable wooden box. For winter travel, settlers were also obliged to purchase a set of sleigh runners for the wagon box. One Manitoba resident wrote in 1883 that the price of a pair of runners was then $30.[49]

Expenditures for farm implements could exceed $1000, or several thousand dollars, if a settler purchased a threshing machine. For purposes of initial farm-making, however, many settlers' requirements were much more modest. In most accounts, a small investment of $40 was sufficient to purchase a prairie breaking plough, a stubble plough, and a harrow.[50] These simple implements permitted the breaking and preparation of several acres for crop. Cultivation was of necessity very crude as the

prohibitive cost of sophisticated implements required that the poorer farmers broadcast seed, stook, harvest and thresh their crops by hand, using such primitive tools as cradles and flails.[51] Professor Ankli's estimate of $330 as the cost of implements for "substantial settlers" does not seem unreasonable, although it is difficult to accept an overall estimate without some indication as to the size of farm for which these implements are considered sufficient. Obviously, too, a farmer's expenditure for implements was related to the kind of crops he cultivated and to the extent to which he raised livestock. If a farmer raised cattle, for example, it was incumbent that he invest in a mower and rake for purposes of haying. Table 2 provides price quotations for implements essential to farm 160 acres.

Most settlers did not incur expenses for seed in the first year of settlement, as few were able to prepare any of their newly-broken land in time to put in a crop. In the study areas of Abernethy and Neudorf, only 45 or about 10 percent of the 461 homestead applicants reported that they had placed one or more acres under cultivation in the first year. Sixty-two percent reported no cropping, and the remaining 28 percent did not answer the question. It should be noted that before 1900 comparatively few settlers began farming on improved land. Purchasers of CPR and colonization company lands were similarly obliged to break virgin prairie prior to cultivation. Most sources suggest that 1.5 to two bushels of seed grain were sufficient to sow one acre of wheat. At $1 per bushel, seed sufficient to sow 10 acres could be purchased for $15 to $20, but even this small expense could be deferred if the settler obtained a seed grain advance from the Dominion government.

If the essential tasks of wood gathering and house building limited the amount of acreage cropped in the first year, these factors also served to curtail the extent of breaking for most settlers. Anglo-Saxon settlers at Abernethy broke an average of 15 acres in the first year, compared with an average of eight acres broken among the German settlers at Neudorf. If a farmer elected to contract his breaking out he usually paid from $1.50 to $3 an acre for his work,[58] and an additional $2 if he also wished to have the land backset in the fall.[59] Ankli is correct in his statement that by 1900 steam plowing offered a cheaper alternative than breaking with horses or oxen. Yet the continuing debate in the agricultural press in the early 1900s suggests that steam plowing was slow to supersede horses and oxen as the preferred method.[60] The relatively small extent of land clearing in the Abernethy area suggests that the majority of settlers performed their own breaking with mould-board plows.

TABLE 2. Price quotations for selected farm implements on the Prairies, 1884-1915.*

	1884[52]	1889[53]	1897[54]	1909[55]	1914[56]	1915[57]
Breaking Plough (Walking)	22	22	20	22	20	24
Stubble Plough (Walking)	16	20	18	22	14.5	24
Iron Harrows	18	20	15	20	18.5	20
Drill Seeder	55	65	90	88	85	100
Mower	80	63	55	52	56	52
Binder	290	150	155	150	145	150
Horse rake	35	20	28	33	33	33
Sleigh Runners	30	28	25	37	35	38
Total in Current $	546	388	406	424	407	441
Total in 1900 $	494	371	477	369	310	324

* Price quotations were deflated using the J1 Wholesale Price Index, after Mitchell, 1868-1925 (Urquhart and Buckley, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, p. 291). Since each set of price quotations relates to a different location and documentary source, allowance should be made for variations in freight rates and retail mark-up. An effort was made to ensure that quotations pertain to the same kinds of implements, but it must be recognized that technological changes had modified some of these implements by the end of the period.

A factor which must not be overlooked in assessing homesteading costs was the role of co-operative enterprise among settlers. While the principal mode of land disposal was that of individual "free" homestead, as opposed to group settlement, settlers tended to select homesteads close to their friends, to permit the pooling of implements, livestock and labour. Pooled labour was common not only among Continental European immigrants, but in the Anglo-Saxon communities as well, as the memoir of an English settler near Fort Qu'Appelle indicates:

> *The people in Canada are very good in helping one another; if a man wants a new house or stable put up, he gets the material ready and goes around among his neighbours and asks them to come and help him on a certain day; this is called a "bee" and it is not only done for buildings, but for ploughing, sowing, reaping, or if a man has had a misfortune and is behind in his work, the neighbours go in together and give him a day's work.*[61]

Similarly, expensive implements, which were beyond the means of many farmers, were sometimes loaned by more prosperous settlers in exchange for a day's labour from the borrower.[62] Alternatively, some setters found that they could still save money by contracting various farming operations out. During the first five years, for example, W.R. Motherwell hired a neighbour to do his binding.[63] Settlers also defrayed capital costs by purchasing implements and livestock in partnership with their neighbours. John Teece, who homesteaded near Abernethy in 1883, held a one-fourth interest in a team of horses, wagon and plough during the first four years. Thereafter, he possessed his own yoke of oxen, wagon and plough, but purchased a one-fourth interest in other implements. Shared ownership does not seem to have impeded Mr. Teece's progress as a farmer; in 1913 he reported that he was in possession of nine quarter sections of land and $10 000 worth of livestock.[64] Another way in which partnerships operated was to cultivate crops "on shares."[65] One Manitoba settler related that farmers commonly worked out arrangements whereby one settler would perform the cultivation duties for two farms while his partner continued to work on the railway to support both homesteads.[66]

There is little doubt that the majority of settlers needed to borrow or hire the use of draft animals initially. Fewer than 25 percent of the German homesteaders recorded having owned cattle in the first year of farming and only 10 percent stated that they owned horses in the same year. At Abernethy, approximately one-third of the homesteaders reported that they had owned cattle in the first year, compared with fewer

than one-fourth reporting the initial ownership of horses. It is possible that some settlers misread the question on the form and therefore failed to answer it completely. Such a small percentage of respondents, however, leaves little doubt that a substantial portion of this homesteading population did not own oxen or horses at the time of entry. Reliance on their neighbours was therefore axiomatic.

It is important to recognize that farm-making was usually a gradual process in which homestead development was phased in over a period of several years. Settlers normally made only a partial beginning in the first year, and gradually improved their holdings over the "proving-up" period of three years or more, and beyond it. In the first year a typical pattern was to select land early in the spring and put up a tent or very rudimentary shelter. No field work could be performed until after the spring run-off, but once it was dry enough to plough, the settler would break five to 15 acres. If his land was stoney, rocks would have to be picked, and the rate of breaking would be slowed. Working industriously the settler could harrow a few acres in time to plant small amounts of wheat, oats, and root crops sufficient to provide him with flour, livestock feed, and vegetables for the winter. Late June and July was customarily devoted to haying. Homesteaders who settled within reasonable proximity of sloughs would be able to cut enough hay to meet their own requirements. Any surplus could generally be sold in the towns or to other farmers. During the harvest months of August to October, the new settler would often find employment with threshing crews harvesting in the developed farm communities in Manitoba and along the CPR main line. For the duration of the winter, young settlers frequently hired on with other farmers, or found work with the CPR or other employers.[67] Those who stayed on their homesteads tended to such tasks as fencing and other farmstead improvements. Commonly, they worked in the bush most of the winter, cutting wood for their own needs and marketing surplus cords in town to support themselves.[68] This income might be supplemented by sales of milk, eggs and other livestock products. Generally, farming in the first year of settlement was of a subsistence nature and was carried out chiefly to offset costs while the homesteader prepared his farm for future profit-oriented agriculture. Only after the passage of several years, and the accumulation of the necessary buildings, tools, prepared acreage, and other improvements, did many settlers begin to treat their farming as a full-time occupation.

In his report on the Canadian North West in 1904, James Mavor observed that "the amount of capital necessary for the establishment of a colonist varies with the district, with the kind of cultivation he intends to

adopt, and with the standard of comfort of the colonist himself."[69] For the present study three ranges of farm-making costs have been tabulated: the minimum, the average, and the substantial (Table 3).

To conclude, the costs of prairie homesteading between 1882 and 1914 varied greatly among settlers of different economic and cultural origins. Costs also varied according to a host of individual variables, including the size of the settler's family, the availability of indigenous building materials, water, and wild game, his working relationships with the neighbours, and opportunities for co-operative ownership of implements. A crucial variable was the timing of settlement. In the 1880s incoming settlers usually possessed a good choice of free grant and CPR lands with easy access to timber, water, and unoccupied pasture lands. After 1900 the price of purchased lands increased rapidly and the selection of homestead lands of high quality diminished.

Despite these differences, it is apparent that a prairie settler could get started with a small investment of about $300 to $550, albeit in a rudimentary way. If the settler made a more independent beginning, he would spend $600 to $1200. Alternatively, the settler with a large accumulated capital could spend $2100 or more to begin farming on a substantial scale. These figures tend to support Ankli and Litt in their tabulation of farm-making costs for substantial settlers, but suggest a somewhat lower limit to cost estimates for average settlers. Where this study departs significantly from Ankli and Litt is in its conclusion that a settler could, if necessary, begin farming with a very small investment.[70]

The low minimum capital requirement implies a degree of economic democracy in the prairie settlement experience. Throughout the period 1883-1914 the standard wages for experienced farm labour remained fairly constant in current dollars, including board. Even in the context of inflation at the end of the period, a hired man usually earned enough to start farming on free grant land with a year's accumulated wages. At the same time it must be admitted that homesteaders who arrived early and claimed the best lands were in a comparatively better position than later arrivals to turn a small investment into a small farm. Farmers who arrived with substantial capital also had a head start in bringing their farms into market-oriented production. Poorer settlers often spent an inordinate amount of time establishing themselves. The homesteader who began with little was more vulnerable and had fewer options than his wealthier counterparts. Any single economic disaster, such as the loss of his buildings to a prairie fire or the failure to find water on his land, could bring an early end to his homesteading venture. These qualifications

TABLE 3. Estimated homesteading expenditures for three categories of settlers, 1882-1914 (converted to 1900 dollars)*

	No. of Observations	Minimum Homesteader's Expenditures	Average Homesteader's Expenditures	Substantial Homesteader's Expenditures
Entry Fee	(N/A)	$8-12	$8-12	$8-12
Dwelling	(303)	5-75	75-250	250-1500
Stable	(147)	5-30	30-100	100-725
Granaries	(81)	2-20	20-75	75-400
Well	(19)	21-35	21-35	42-70 (2 wells)
Fencing	(111)	5-20	20-100	100-500
Provisions	(3)	90-130	90-130	130-217
Stove	(4)	14-23	14-23	28-46 (2 stoves)
Furnishings	(3)	22-34	22-34	44-68
Implements	(6)	13-17 (2 ploughs, 1/2 int.)	94-131 (2 ploughs, 1 mower & rake)	310-494 (full complement)
Small Tools	(3)	14-31	14-31	14-31
Livestock:				
-yoke of oxen	(6)	47-77(1/2 int.)	93-153	——
-team of horses	(4)	——	——	338-696 (2 teams)
-dairy cattle	(3)	——	——	138-288 (6 cattle)
Harness				
for oxen	(2)	10-19(1/2 int.)	93-153	——
for horses	(1)	——	——	76-76
Breaking 100 acres	(3)	——	——	305-517
Seed 150 bushels	(N/A)	——	——	65-151
Wagon	(7)	35-41 (1/2 int.)	70-82	70-82
Total		$291-564	$590-1193	$2093-5873

* Due to the great variability in reported values of structural improvements, estimates for the cost of dwellings, stables, granaries, wells and fencing have been left in current dollars.

notwithstanding, homesteading was open to most settlers in the earliest period.

The analysis of homesteading costs in Abernethy's settlement period goes far to explain that community's subsequent economic development. Abernethy, representing the earliest group of Anglo-Saxon homesteaders from Ontario, was settled in a period of expanding economic opportunities. Settlers benefited from the comparatively low costs of setting up a homestead, and particularly from the cheap cost of land. Those who began farming with a small amount of capital often phased in their homestead development over a number of years. With their accumulated acreage in cultivation and other improvements, they were in a good position to reap the benefits of higher wheat prices after the wheat export boom in the late 1890s.

Quantitative tabulations of homestead improvements at Abernethy and Neudorf show that most settlers before 1900 began farming with a modest outlay. The accumulated improvements at the time of patent application indicate a slow rate of homestead development in both areas. Anglo-Saxon settlers at Abernethy had broken a slightly greater acreage than their German counterparts, but possessed fewer cattle. Since Abernethy settlers took a longer period of time to fulfill their homestead obligations, their annual rate of breaking was no greater than that of the Germans. This evidence would seem to refute the proposition that the subsequent comparative success of the Anglo-Saxon group was necessarily attributable to a higher initial investment. This conclusion implies that other factors were at play, and these are examined in the next chapter.

An essential aspect of early farm-making was the co-operative pooling of labour, shelter and implements among settlers. Co-operative activity worked well in the early period when most settlers were obliged to share their resources. Settlers who arrived after this initial period entered a situation in which the co-operative principle had already begun to erode.

III. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE ABERNETHY DISTRICT 1880-1920

While the prairie settler prepared sufficient land, built the necessary shelter and amassed the materials of farm production, he confronted the problem of converting his investment into a viable economic operation. The transition from the early homesteading to profit-oriented agriculture was often slow. The settler's chances of success depended on a multitude of factors, many of which were beyond his control. A continually unpredictable factor was weather and, more generally, climatic conditions. While Abernethy settlers had settled outside the semi-arid region of the Palliser Triangle, their lands were not beyond the reach of drought in a dry year. Early frost was an ever present danger, particularly in the early period. Crops were frequently subjected to infestations of gophers, locusts, and crop diseases. Prairie fires, too, could destroy in a few minutes what the settler had taken years to create. Returns were further imperilled by an unstable market and frequent fluctuations in the price of farm products. On the other hand, there existed a number of ways of reducing the risk in prairie agriculture. As farmers observed the effects of various agricultural techniques on production, they were presented with a number of options to increase yields and the degree of reliability in profits. Since the margin between profit and loss was often very small, farming demanded astute management to turn the anticipated returns into a reality.

The economic history of the Abernethy district, 1880-1920, divides into two distinct periods. The early settlement period, 1880-1900, which corresponds with the use of 19th-century technology and farming techniques, was labour rather than capital-intensive. Homesteading represented a small investment for most newcomers who were able to begin cultivation with a yoke of oxen and a few simple implements. The abundance of unclaimed lands presented the settler with the option of choosing his homestead near wooded areas, and thus reduced his necessary expen-

diture for building materials. Land was cheap, but required a considerable labour investment to prepare the virgin grassland for cultivation. In this early period, the farmer also spent an inordinate amount of his time in marketing his grain. Reflecting a general phenomenon on the prairies, the Abernethy district did not obtain rail linkage with outside markets until after 1900. In the first 20 years, farmers hauled their wheat as far as 30 to 35 miles to the CPR line — a process which consumed much of their labour time during the fall and winter months.

After 1900 rapid increases in the price of land and other farming costs necessitated a shift to a predominantly capital-intensive agriculture. Land prices jumped dramatically, as the range of accessible homestead lands diminished and incoming settlers were obliged to purchase farms in settled areas. The costs of motive power increased, as oxen were supplanted by horses, and horsepower in turn was replaced by steam and gas. Building costs went up as the supply of lands close to wooded areas diminished and settlers were obliged to purchase the materials of construction. Accompanying this process was an eventual increase in the size of farms and a reduction in the farming population. Settlers who were able to persist eventually reaped the profits of large-scale production. In the process, however, many fell by the wayside.

Early Farming History, 1880-1900

The Qu'Appelle Valley farming region established itself very early as a grain exporting area. The earliest references to grain shipments appear in a December 1884 issue of the *Regina Leader*.[1] Rail linkage had been established for the Indian Head district in 1882 and Regina in 1883, but it was not until 1884 that the CPR built a grain terminal at Port Arthur and grain shipments proceeded immediately upon its completion. Nonetheless, the scale of production remained small. At Abernethy, and in surrounding rural communities, most of the new settlers devoted the first year or two to the construction of farm buildings and sod-breaking. Before they had prepared sufficient acreage to undertake large scale wheat production, the settlers sold limited quantities of root and cereal crops at local markets at Fort Qu'Appelle and the nascent villages and towns that sprang up on the CPR main line in the wake of rail construction. These centres, including Indian Head, Sintaluta, Wolseley, and Grenfell, also constituted a market for cords of wood and bales of hay, which the settlers could collect in the wooded and marshy areas to the north and east of Abernethy. The mode of exchange for these transactions

was often barter and not cash, as little money was in circulation in the initial period.[2]

Historians of settlement in the American Midwest and Eastern Canada have interpreted the phenomenon of barter as representative of a subsistence or self-sufficient agriculture. Yet, as V.C. Fowke has noted, even these early non-monetary transactions were related to a market-oriented economy:

> *In stressing "cash products" as we have, it is important not to fall into the error of dismissing barter transactions as of no commercial importance, or of assuming that the scarcity of money in frontier communities was a proof of self-sufficiency. Much of the produce disposed of by the pioneer was bartered, but it was nonetheless disposed of commercially and constituted effective demand for capital equipment and consumer's goods of non-agricultural origins.*[3]

Cash continued to be a scarce commodity throughout the early period of Abernethy's history, but this fact should not obscure the essential market orientation of its economy.

Wheat quickly established its economic importance as the principal cash crop in the Abernethy area, and generally in the District of Assiniboia. Mixed farming was practised in several areas in which the soils were less conducive to crop than to pasture, such as the Pheasant Hills to the east of Abernethy and the Moose Mountain, Touchwood and Beaver Hills districts. These areas also possessed extensive marshy lands that afforded an accessible supply of hay for cattle feed. Most settlers in the District of Assiniboia, however, had settled on the flat open prairie. They tended to raise only a few livestock for home consumption and a local market, while concentrating on wheat production for export.

Wheat Prices, 1880-1900

Given the heavy reliance on wheat as a cash crop, the importance of wheat prices to the economic fortunes of Abernethy farmers is evident. For this study, the relevant figure is the local or farm-gate price, representing the actual amount paid to the farmer on delivery of his wheat to the elevator. Theoretically the local price should have been equal to the world or Liverpool price, less the costs of moving grain from the local market to Liverpool. Similarly, the price of wheat at the principal port for east-

bound grain, Fort William, should have equalled the farm-gate price, less delivery charges. In practice, however, the farmer often received a much smaller figure, particularly in the latter years of the 19th century, before government regulation of the grain handling business removed the worst abuses of the system.

As Figure 11 indicates, the local wheat prices fluctuated greatly in the 1884-1900 period.[4] Frosted wheat, if a buyer for it could be found, brought less. Before 1900 the unfortunate combination of late ripening strains of wheat and recurrent summer frosts commonly caused frost damage and concomitant low grading.

Grain prices were also adversely affected by the existing system of grain dealing which farmers perceived to conspire against their interests. Often only one buyer could be found at the market centre, and farmers frequently complained of a lack of competition with the resulting evils of short weight and low prices. If the grain buyer had already filled his weekly requirements he might not take any new grain, or he might offer to purchase a load at a considerably reduced rate. Having hauled his wheat 30 miles or more at considerable expense, the farmer was usually forced to accept whatever price the dealer offered. The alternative was to return empty-handed with wagon full.

The farmers' suspicion of price fixing was echoed in some local newspapers. In 1885 the *Qu'Appelle Vidette* related that an Abernethy area farmer had been offered only 50 cents per bushel for wheat equal in quality to that which had brought 58 cents a few days earlier. Since one of the two grain buyers at Indian Head was out of town, the farmer had no choice but to sell to the remaining purchaser. The *Vidette* commented, somewhat sarcastically:

> *This action clearly illustrated the beauty of monopoly and we believe it would be much better for those buyers to join the "ring". Then they could buy wheat at their own prices from those who were compelled to sell and there would be no grumbling and farmers would not expect any competition in the market ....*[5]

Hard evidence which would verify the charges of monopoly remains elusive. It is perhaps worthy of note that freight rates constituted less than half the difference between the quoted local and Fort William prices. For example, assuming that the farmer received the maximum price (quoted in Qu'Appelle district newspapers in 1890-91) for No. 1 Northern he would have earned an average of 55 cents a bushel for wheat that sold in

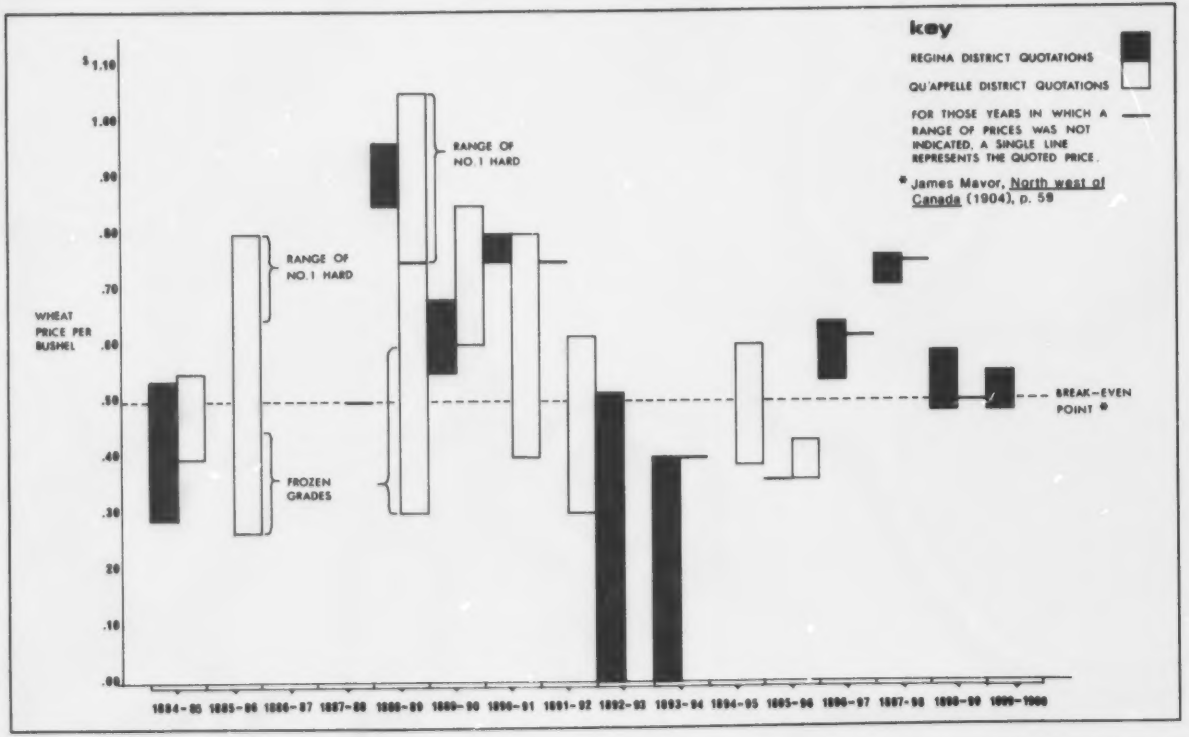


Fig. 11. Local farm gate wheat prices in Regina and various market centres in the Qu'Appelle districts, 1884-1900. This graph illustrates the range of prices offered by local buyers for wheat. (*Regina Leader* [1884-1900], *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, and *Qu'Appelle Progress* [1884-1900].

Fort William for 88 cents (Fig. 12). Immediately prior to the initiation of Crow's Nest rates in 1897, the freight charge at Qu'Appelle was approximately 13 cents per bushel.[6] This left 20 cents per bushel for elevator storage charges and the grain buyer's profit. Farmers clearly believed this margin to be exorbitant.

If the farmer wished to avert the problems associated with the sale of his wheat to the local elevator company, he could direct the elevator officer to load his grain and ship it directly to Fort William. In this way, the price to the farmer could never have differed substantially from the Fort William price plus freight charges, except under circumstances of chronic congestion of handling and transportation facilities. Such a situation did not occur until the unprecedented wheat harvest of 1901. The business of shipping carloads of track wheat presented other obstacles to the farmer, however. He had, first of all, to have produced 1000 bushels of wheat of the same grade in order to fill the car, or 1500 bushels for the larger cars. Before the 1890s few farmers had prepared sufficient acreage to produce such a large amount of wheat.[7] Even into the 1900s, the logistical problems involved in hauling 1000 bushels within the 15-day waiting period proved insurmountable for many.

Before the building of the Kirkella CPR branch line in 1903, Abernethy area settlers were forced to haul grain distances of 20 to 30 miles to the elevator. This trip normally took at least a day, so no settler could make more than three round trips per week. Since most farm wagons held a maximum of 40 bushels of wheat, a farmer could only hope to meet the deadline with the help of hired "teamsters." But short-term labour was hard to find and was costly in the initial period, when grain prices remained depressed. Other expenses associated with grain hauling included the hotel and meal costs for the drayman and a livery charge for their horses. Together, these expenditures exceeded $2 per trip. Abernethy farmers estimated that the cost of hauling wheat was 10 cents a bushel, a figure which does not seem at all exaggerated.[8]

In 1893, John Nicholls, a Fort Qu'Appelle area settler, estimated the revenues and expenses settlers on free grant lands would encounter in raising 100 acres of wheat:

Revenue		
16 bushels per acre at 40 cents		$640
Expenditures		
2 bushels seed at 40 cents		80
Threshing at least		100
Twine and hired help in harvest alone		60
Repairs, wear and tear of implements and teams at least		$150
Cash expense for marketing		20
	Total cash outlay	$470

In Nicholl's tabulation the farmer was left with a net revenue of $170, "out of which he has to provide flour, groceries, clothing and furniture, for himself and his family, and to make provision for sickness, accidents and old age."[9] For those settlers who lived 20 miles or more from market, farming was an even more marginal proposition. If the cost of marketing each bushel of wheat were 10 cents per bushel, the farmer's net revenue,

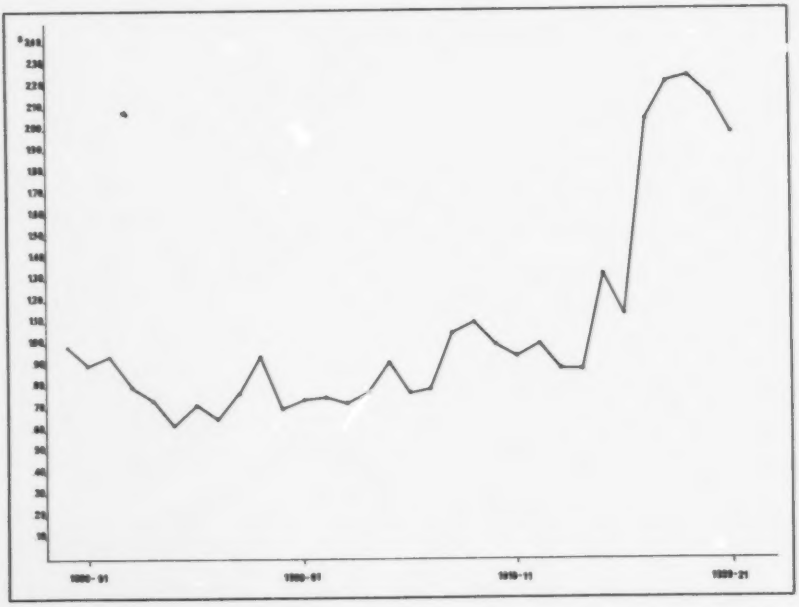


Fig. 12. Wholesale wheat prices at Winnipeg, 1889-1920. This graph illustrates estimates of the wholesale market price of No. 1 Northern wheat at Winnipeg, 1889-1904, and the Winnipeg cash closing No. 1 Northern, basis in store, Fort William, 1905-1920. (M.C. Urquhart and K.A.H. Buckley, *Historical Statistics of Canada* [1965], pp. 359-60).

using Nicholl's other estimates, would be a paltry 30 cents per acre, or $30 for 100 acres.

Yields, 1880-1900

The other major factor bearing on farm income was yield. Statistics on crop yields were not compiled by the government of the North-West Territories before 1898. In their absence, incomplete estimates may be gleaned from the scattered reports of local immigration and agricultural officials and in local newspapers. These sources must be approached carefully. Local newspaper editors and immigration officials, anxious to promote settlement, tended to emphasize the successes, while paying scant attention to the failures.

Crops in the North-West in the 1880s were extremely variable, and farmers suffered recurrent failure in many districts. In 1883 the Dominion Immigration Agent at Qu'Appelle reported an average yield of 18 bushels of wheat per acre in that community.[10] The following year he reported:

> *The crops has not been so abundant as was expected from the Rapid Growth and appearance through the summer — the lateness of the spring season, besides being very dry — together with the frost in fall has been the cause of a slight damage to some fields of grain, which did not vegetate and ripen equally.*[11]

In 1885 the *Qu'Appelle Vidette* reported that Indian Head area farmers suffered "great losses" from prairie fires. Drought was another source of crop damage.[12]

The exceptionally hot and dry summer of 1886 resulted in an almost total loss for Abernethy farmers. Samuel Chipperfield, who reaped two bushels per acre, also recorded the yields of his neighbours: Wallace Garratt, seven bushels per acre; F.S. Evans, three bushels; W.H. Garratt, five bushels; C.S. Dickenson, 2.5 bushels; Dixon Brothers, 10 bushels. Chipperfield attributed the higher yields registered by the Dixon Brothers to the greater precipitation received by their fields.[13]

Despite the general destruction of crops, a few fields recorded surprisingly high yields. Abernethy-area farmers empirically deduced that the higher-yielding fields were the lands that had been left fallow the previous year by farmers who had dropped their seeding in favour of "teaming" supplies to Government troops during the North-West Rebellion. Some farmers such as W.R. Motherwell did not actually leave for

transport service but instead rented their horse teams and wagons to the Government. Unable to work their lands, they reaped an unexpected benefit.

In 1887 the wheat crop at Qu'Appelle averaged 20 bushels per acre, compared with 25 bushels at Fort Qu'Appelle.[14] But at Abernethy John Teece reported that his crop was "almost a failure and the same is true of most in this part of the district."[15] Grasshopper and gopher infestation approached epidemic proportions, and early frosts in 1888 also wrought a near-total destruction of wheat in the Abernethy district. W.R. Motherwell, who had sowed 65 acres, reaped a paltry 300 bushels.[16] The frequent failures inspired numerous petitions to the Territorial Government for seed grain assistance. Many of these losses approaching 90 percent in some areas, resulted from drought and gopher destruction.[17] Beyond the seed grain question many settlers found themselves unable to pay the costs of their pre-emption entries, which had come due that year. They faced imminent cancellation and the loss of half their homestead lands. To cap a difficult decade, farmers reaped widely divergent yields in 1889, ranging in one report as low as 12 bushels per acre, which Samuel Chipperfield obtained on summer fallowed land,[18] although only five miles away, W.R. Motherwell reaped 30 bushels to the acre.

In June 1890 the crop yield improved, but with mixed results for different locations. An indication of the great variation in yields may be drawn from a series of crop and weather bulletins commissioned by the federal Department of the Interior in 1890.[19] The average yields recorded for the three principal grains in localities were:

Place	Yield		
	Wheat	Oats	Barley
Qu'Appelle	23	45	30
Fort Qu'Appelle	35	70	35
Moose Jaw	15	17	nil
Wolseley	18	30	–

The year 1891 was described as a "banner year" for wheat farmers in the Blackwood district south of Abernethy.[20] Farmers took advantage of the large harvest to purchase additional lands and implements. Yet the early nineties were marked by continuing problems with early frost and irregular yields. To compound these difficulties, mixed farmers lost from 40 to 75 percent of their cattle in the severe winter of 1892-93.[21] The combined impact of this series of disasters was considerable as is shown in a petition sent by a group of Saltcoats settlers to the Governor-General in 1894.

This the Petition of the residents of Saltcoats, Assiniboia, humbly sheweth.

That families who came from the British Isles to this district under Colonization Company's influence, are in need of relief from the heavy and grievous burdens which oppress them.

That at great cost of Toil *and* Money *these people have improved the lands they took up from the Government.*

That in the present Financial position of this district the settlers are in such a state of uncertainty as to what these Colonization Companies will do; that they are afraid to expend further capital and labor in improving these Homesteads.

That the margin of profit of late years is so small, on account of low prices, loss of cattle, by the thousand in this district alone last spring through a long winter, scarcity of hay and good wells of water, through losses by drought, gophers, hailstorms, and summer frosts, that not one of these husbandmen, can meet his indebtedness to these companies.

That fully fifty per cent of the families who came in under these auspices have abandoned the lands they settled upon, that the obligations are now so large of those that remain to the Implement Firms, and Storekeepers, that they most certainly cannot repay principal or int. to said Companies.

That owing to lack of a home market, heavy freight rates, scarcity of money in circulation in this district and that our business has to be done by Barter there is no chance whatever of farmers making money, (mortgages are about as plentiful as the dollar with the farmer).

That these men, on the strength of immigration literature, published by Governments and Land Companies, gave a mortgage to these Co's. on their homesteads and improvements, in good faith of being able to redeem the same, and obtain the title deeds of their Holdings.

That consequently Your Excellency and the Gov't should see how very hard it is for these men and their families to be compelled to abandon their improved homesteads, after so big a struggle to make their own property.

That in the interest of the Dominion and especially those of the Territories, we are of the opinion that any further exodus of valuable settlers should be immediately arrested and their Homesteads saved from going as the others have gone to their original condition of wild prairie ....[22]

There can be little doubt that many settlers suffered great hardships in the first difficult years. Numerous letters to local newspapers and petitions to the federal government document the various economic problems faced by the settlers. Frequently these letters were addressed to persons contemplating the North-West as a field for settlement, as disillusioned authors admonished readers not to believe the "glowing reports" in immigration literature. In a letter printed in the *Belfast Newsletter* in 1891, a Regina area settler bitterly related his tribulations during seven years of struggle:

> *There were only two years during the last seven that really should be called good years. These were 1890 and 1887. In the former the average yield of wheat per acre was about 15 bushels per acre, the general price is about 50 or 60 cents a bushel (a cent equal to a half penny). This, after deducting the expense of seed, labour, cost of cutting, and threshing — except the farmer has his own machinery, which is very expensive — is very small to the producer. Most years there is about a half or third crops, some years so bad that it's not worth cutting ....*[23]

The 1890s were particularly hard on newcomers, who had been unable to build up sufficient improved acreage to withstand the worst effects of crop failures and depressed prices. In 1895 the *Qu'Appelle Progress* related the plight of one young bachelor whose financial woes had forced him to subsist on a diet of bread and tea. According to the story this hapless homesteader had lost a yoke of oxen, suffered the strangulation of his mare, and witnessed the complete failure of his grain crop. Referring to the other settlers, the author stated, "I am afraid there are a good many suffering this if they would only own up to it."[24]

At the same time, farmers who persisted through the period of low prices and crop failures were usually able to progress. It is difficult to generalize about the individuals who stayed — quantitative comparisons of farmers who held their land for 20 years or longer do not reveal many characteristics that they shared in common. For example, no relationship between family size and longevity of tenure could be discerned. Yet the successful farmers often tended to take similar approaches in crucial aspects of their farming operations. Testimonials by successful settlers suggest a common tendency to diversify. During the 1880s when grain crops were frequently destroyed, some settlers were able to market sufficient garden and livestock produce to be able to continue. In 1888, for example, W.R. Motherwell's frozen wheat crop yielded a negligible 300

bushels, but he was able to meet expenses by selling $200 worth of pork.[25] In 1893, while wheat prices plummetted, Motherwell expanded his herd of cattle to 50 head. This is not to suggest that a full-fledged diversification took place for most farmers but that the more successful among them were at least able to adapt to changing conditions.

Farmers who persisted also demonstrated a capacity to adjust to the exigencies of dry-farming. After 1886 the practice of summer fallowing to preserve soil moisture spread rapidly throughout the Qu'Appelle Valley and neighbouring districts. An important impetus in the diffusion of summer fallowing and other new techniques was Angus MacKay, under whose superintendency the Dominion Experimental Farm was established at Indian Head in 1888. By 1897 the *Qu'Appelle Progress* was able to report that "summerfallowing is now the order of the day."[26] Crop yields registered at Indian Head and at the Motherwell Farm demonstrated the greater returns of summerfallowing *vis-à-vis* continuous cropping.[27]

		Indian Head Dominion Experimental		Motherwell Farm
Year	Rainfall	Fallow Yield/Acre	Stubble Yield/Acre	Fallow Yield/Acre
1891	14.03	35	32	30
1892	6.92	28	21	29
1893	10.11	35	22	34
1894	3.90	17	9	24
1895	12.28	41	22	26
1896	10.59	39	29	31
1897	14.62	33	26	35
1898	18.03	32	—	27
1899	9.44	33	—	33
1900	11.74	17	25	25

Individuals such as W.R. Motherwell continued to experiment with new techniques and approaches that were designed to reduce the risk and costs entailed by wheat farming. In 1894 Motherwell began to import brome grass from Austria, which he incorporated into his crop rotation program at his farm. In addition to its beneficial effects in enriching the soil and controlling weeds, Motherwell found that he could profit from selling brome for seed. Since brome seed required a much larger acreage than wheat to produce a load for market, Motherwell saved many trips and considerable expense. Instead of hauling to Indian Head the product of

one and a half acres of wheat worth $20, Motherwell could haul the product of seven or eight acres of brome grass worth $200.[28]

In the late nineties, Abernethy farmers had also begun to benefit from a general reduction in the federal tariff on farm implements. At the time the area was settled in the early eighties, the Dominion government had raised the duty on American machinery to 35 percent. While farm revenue remained at low ebb in the early nineties, the high cost of implements was surely an impediment to expansion. Between 1895 and 1900 implement duties were reduced to 20 percent and Canadian implement prices dropped by a somewhat smaller margin. The retail price of mowers and binders was reduced 7.5 percent; seeders, 15 percent; fanning mills, 20 percent; rakes and ploughs, 10 to 12 percent; and wagons, eight percent. Notably, the price of the self-binding reaper had dropped 50 percent since the early eighties.[29]

With the opening of new European markets in 1896, wheat prices recovered from a three-year slump. Concurrently yields increased dramatically. At Sintaluta, the principal market centre for Abernethy area farmers, wheat sales increased from a low of 80 000 bushels in the season of 1894-95 to 240 000 bushels the following year.[30] That prosperity had finally arrived for Abernethy settlers was evident in a tabulation of revenues in the Qu'Appelle Basin, published by the Winnipeg firm of Osler, Hammond and Nanton in 1897. In several cases revenues in excess of three to five times the original outlay for land had been recorded.[31] Even before the wheat boom, settlers in several farming districts, including Abernethy, had performed much better economically than their counterparts who had settled on poor land and with smaller amounts of capital. In his annual report for 1895, North West Mounted Police Superintendent A.B. Perry reported that while hardships in the early nineties had occasioned the wholesale desertion of townships in some areas,

> *... As a contrast I should mention that I have been astonished with the material progress made in many districts where the settlers are of the right class, the soil fertile and the surrounding conditions favorable. Take the settlements north of Pense, at Spring Bank, north of Qu'Appelle Station, the Wideawake settlements, around Kenlis, Abernethy and Indian Head, and you will find very marked signs of increasing wealth and prosperity.*[32]

By 1900, then, the Abernethy agricultural economy was largely established, with heavy dependence on the wheat staple as its principal feature. Evidence of a developing prosperity could be discerned in the

impressive fieldstone, frame, and brick residences that farmers built after the onset of the wheat boom in 1896. While most early homesteaders either had dropped out or would soon depart, the more successful settlers had acquired sufficient machinery and improved enough acreage to begin to cash in on the long-awaited gains.

Developing Prosperity, 1900-1910

The decade 1901 to 1910 saw the consolidation of the Abernethy economy that had been established in the 1880s and 1890s. With the arrival of local rail service in 1904, the townships to the north were repopulated, and thousands of acres were brought into cereal grain production. Abernethy farmers generally improved their economic position in this period. A major reason for their enhanced prosperity was a general increase in the price of wheat. Between 1901 and 1910 the Fort William price averaged 88.6 cents per bushel or 12 cents higher than the average price between 1896 and 1900.[33] Most of the increase was registered in 1907 and 1908 when the price averaged $1.10 at Fort William. Meanwhile, freight rates at Regina dropped to 10.8 cents, a level at which they remained until the last two years of the First World War.[34] Having steadily expanded their improved acreage, Abernethy settlers were now in a position to profit from the increased grain prices. By 1906, farmers cultivated an average of 151.85 acres in the townships surrounding the village of Abernethy.[35] With such a large extent of improved acreage, farmers could enhance their yields by leaving one-third of their lands fallow, while still placing 100 acres under cultivation.

Crop yields continued to fluctuate wildly, ranging from the very dry year of 1900, when wheat averaged only nine bushels per acre throughout the District of Assiniboia, to the bounteous harvest of 1901, when yields reached 25 bushels overall (Fig. 13). The average yield in the District of Assiniboia and the province of Saskatchewan, between 1898 and 1912, was 15 bushels per acre.[36] Yet yields in the rich agricultural district around Abernethy continued to outstrip the provincial average. Between 1898 and 1903, spring wheat in Crop District No. 4, comprising the Grenfell, Wolseley, Indian Head and Qu'Appelle Districts, averaged 20.4 bushels per acre, topped by a harvest of 28.5 bushels in the bumper year of 1901.[37]

A third reason for the developing prosperity of Abernethy farmers was the arrival of accessible rail linkage when the Kirkella Branch of the CPR was built north of the Qu'Appelle River in 1903-04. Instantly a

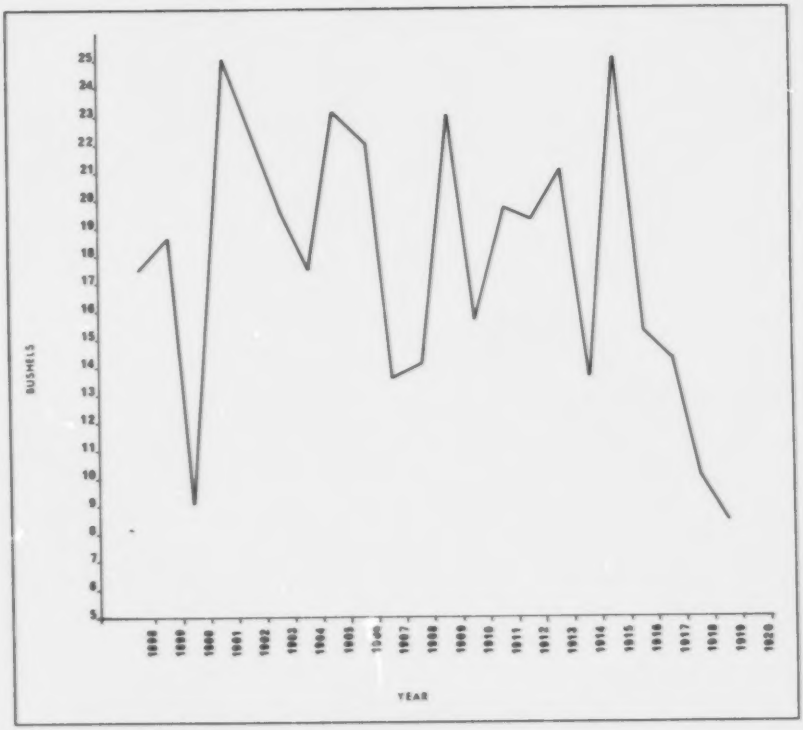


Fig. 13. Wheat yields in Saskatchewan, 1898-1920. (Saskatchewan Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report* [1913], and Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Handbook of Agricultural Statistics* [1951]. Part 1, Field Crops).

series of market centres was established along this line, including the villages of Abernethy and Balcarres. Farmers now could save most of the time and expense of hauling grain 30 miles or more to market, and it was now possible to fill grain cars within the specified period of time. Farmers could also save the transportation costs entailed in travelling to distant supply centres in order to purchase material goods, as a full complement of retail outlets was established at Abernethy.

Clearly the principal economic advantage possessed by the settlers who arrived before 1900 was the capital gain that accrued from a rapid increase in land values after the turn of the century. In some areas CPR lands that were purchased for $3 per acre in the 1890s had jumped in value to $30 or more in 1910 (Fig. 14).[38] In the Abernethy area, most settlers had obtained in addition at least 320 acres as homesteads and pre-emp-

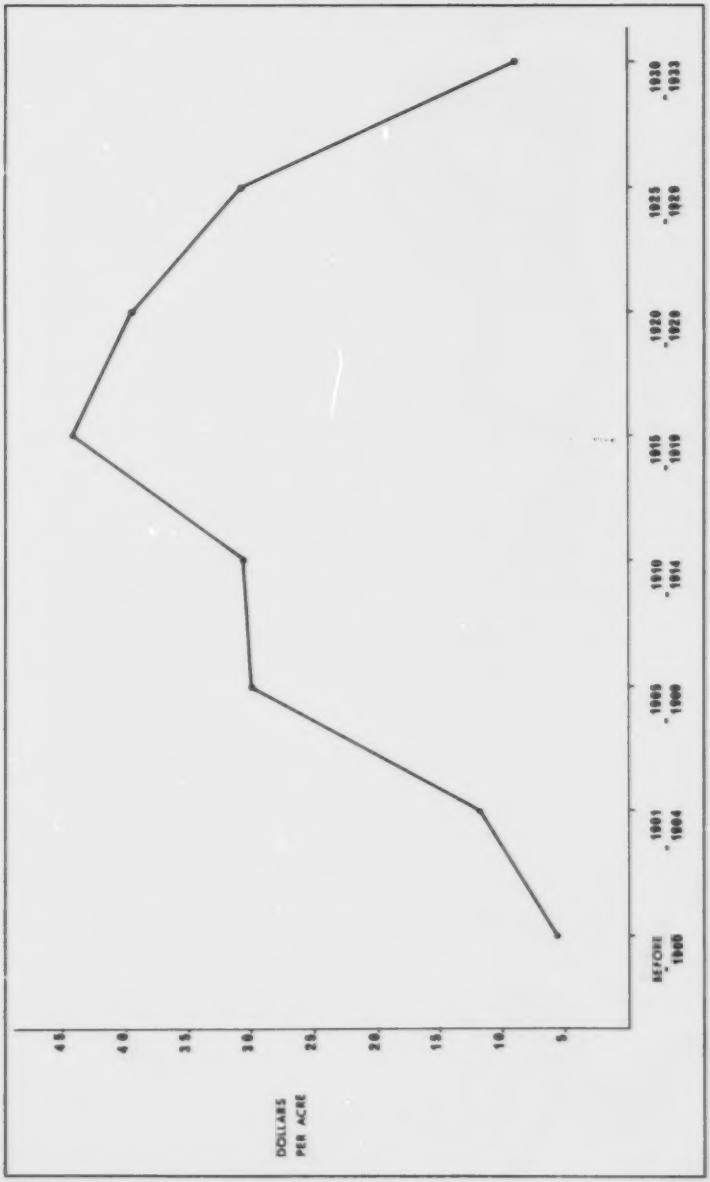


Fig. 14. Average price paid for land, Indian Head and Balcarres Districts, pre-1900 to 1933.

tions for a minimal outlay. In some cases an additional quarter-section, the so-called second homestead, was obtained by settlers who had arrived before 1886. In this way, W.R. Motherwell obtained 480 acres of Dominion land and an additional quarter-section of CPR land for a total outlay of only $1200. By 1910 these lands were worth about $20 000.

With such a cushion of real estate equity, farmers could mortgage their lands to obtain funds for various capital expenditures, including more land, additional machinery, or new farm buildings. In 1907, for example, W.R. Motherwell mortgaged one of his quarter sections for $5000 to finance the building of his barn.[39] Mortgages continued to be an important source of financing for farm implements throughout a farmer's period of tenure; in some cases as many as 10 mortgages were registered against quarter sections in the township around Abernethy.[40] In the context of variable grain prices and yields, mortgages also gave farmers access to cash for operating expenses in years of low revenue. In other words, they conferred a degree of flexibility on the farmer that newcomers without accumulated equity did not possess. Established settlers also received preferred treatment from lending institutions *vis-à-vis* interest rates, although rates rarely dropped below seven percent.

The Mire of Farm Debt

If post-1900 farming provided opportunities for larger profits, it also entailed the possibility of greater debts. A provincial Royal Commission on Agricultural Credit reported in 1913 that farm indebtedness in the province had reached $1500 per farm unit. In the 18 months preceding August 1913, more than 1723 mortgage and sales proceedings had taken place.[41] A major problem was a general shortage of loan capital in Western Canada. Many new farmers, already burdened with the large farm-making costs in the post-1900 period, could not obtain access to loans in periods of low revenue. The more prosperous farmers, including those in the Abernethy district, could compete more easily for this capital. That Abernethy farmers experienced little difficulty in securing mortgage money is evident from a search of land titles in Township 20, Range 11, between 1883 and 1920.

Another worry for many farmers was the threat of dispossession by implement companies. In 1913, the Saskatchewan Department of Agriculture conducted an investigation into the cost of farm implements to farmers during the preceding 10 years. In its report, the Department observed that many farmers found the credit conditions surrounding the

purchase of implements to be particularly stringent. While having the assurance of the implement companies' agents that they would receive fair treatment in the event of not being able to meet their payments, the farmers' experience "is somewhat different when the collector calls around."[42]

Much of the problem evidently stemmed from the nature of the agreements entered into by the farmers and the companies. Ordinarily, the farmer signed a lien note, by which he surrendered the right of ownership until the implement had been paid for. Notes were usually made out for several months to one year, although in some cases an agent would grant a buyer two years in which to pay. Farmers complained, however, of a clause in the agreement which permitted the implement company to declare the note due and payable if it considered the note to be insecure. Failing payment on such demand, the company could seize the implement. One settler wrote:

> *If you are unable to meet your notes, the company will send their collector out to get security of some kind. If you refuse, your life is made miserable by threatening letters. If you consent to give a mortgage you are charged ten per cent. Those who buy a threshing machine on time are specially hard pressed, as the banks are very tight with threshers and the companies are equally hard on them.*[43]

In the event a farmer did not arrange a mortgage to cover the outstanding debt, the implement company or other interested party would register a *caveat* against his property.

Indebtedness was not limited to mortgages and implement loans. General stores frequently were obliged to give credits, which persisted over long periods of time. Even if the farmer's crop materialized, mortgage and implement companies often had first claim on the settler's revenues. In 1905 the three proprietors of Abernethy general stores, frustrated with long standing debts, announced a new policy.

> *To Our Customers*
>
> *A few words as to our views on the system of giving credits. We have found on referring to our accounts that we are carrying several from year to year which aggregate large sums with which if we had cash we could carry on business more satisfactory to ourselves and customers.*

We have realized that if we are to keep on doing business, we must have a better understanding in regard to the matter, and wish it understood that as this is the most bountiful crop that the country has ever produced, and in view of the consequent prosperity and circulation of money attendant thereon, we must have old scores and open accounts, both large and small, settled in full.

There may be exceptional cases which deserve clemency, but we will have to secure such accounts as cannot be paid in full by mortgages on chattels or on other assets; for an account which cannot be paid in this year of plenty is a poor one for a merchant to carry.[44]

Farmers were perennially short of cash. To a large extent this was inevitable given the variability in annual returns and the irregular timing in which the farmer received his income. The Agricultural Credit Commission noted that "in most districts" farmers borrowed from banks to meet current expenses, particularly in the months preceding the fall harvest. Usually these short-term loans were made out for three to six months, but as the Commission noted, loans were perpetually renewed.

These features of our mortgage system are reprehensible. The mortgage is not calculated to develop business habits nor promptness. It is a document that places the farmer, from the beginning, in an impossible situation. It holds out to him the prospect of confronting a payment which he can never hope to meet. Under the guise of a short-time mortgage, there actually exists a system of long-term mortgages, but with this difference, that the farmer is compelled to renew every five years or lose his farm should he fail to meet his mortgage.[45]

Farmers also continued to suffer from problems in the grain handling system. The huge harvest in 1901 had produced more wheat than the CPR had been able to handle, and a wheat blockade developed at virtually all grain market centres along the CPR main line in Manitoba and southeastern Saskatchewan. With elevators and warehouses filled to capacity, farmers were forced to pile their bagged wheat on the ground along the rail line. A long-developing alienation found expression in the founding meeting of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association (TGGA) at Indian Head in 1901. Led by W.R. Motherwell, the co-organizer and first president of TGGA, farmers pressed for parliamentary amendments to the

Manitoba Grain Act to redress perceived abuses of the system of apportioning grain cars. Yet many continued to complain of shortages of cars and discriminatory practices in grading by local elevators. As in the earlier period, new farmers experienced difficulties in raising sufficient grain to be able to ship in bulk to Fort William. Street sales of wheat usually netted the producer a much smaller amount than he could have received by loading his own car. Even in 1908, when the price of No. 1 Northern exceeded $1, local elevator companies paid as little as 25 cents per bushel for lower grades.[46]

The plight of many of the post-1900 settlers can best be illustrated by a case example. In 1905, Georgina Binnie-Clark purchased 320 acres of partially improved land near Lipton, Sask., about 30 miles northwest of Abernethy.[47] She had been an English journalist and possessed no previous experience in farming. Lacking the capital to buy the land outright, she entered into an agreement to purchase for $5000, at $15 per acre, with $800 down and annual installments of $1000 at six percent interest. From an outside perspective, the proposition seemed attractive enough; Binnie-Clark anticipated that she would be able to reap 2500 bushels from her 80 acre wheat field which, at $1 per bushel, would bring $2500.

Binnie-Clark's anticipated gains proved illusory. While her harvest was relatively bounteous — about 22 bushels to the acre — the actual yield of 1797 bushels was considerably less than the anticipated 2500 bushels. Of this, 160 bushels had to be held in reserve for seed. The remainder graded No. 1 Northern at the elevator and sold for $1026. From this sum, expenses for harvest labour, binder-twine, threshing, hauling, and groceries had to be deducted. She had incurred heavy expenditures in her first "housekeeping bill" for such necessary chattels as a cook stove, wood, and various pieces of furniture totalling $519.30. Implement costs added another $700 to the yearly expenditures, leaving a net deficit of more than $200. To meet the land payment that was due on 1 January 1905, Binnie-Clark was obliged to send to England for an additional £200. At this time, she renegotiated her land purchase agreement and signed a three-year mortgage for $3000 at six percent.

In 1906 she engaged a farm labourer, who seeded the wheat crop on an unprepared seed bed. While yields in the Lipton district were generally fairly high that season, Binnie-Clark's 1200 bushel crop was considerably smaller than the previous year and was further reduced by heavy dockage for wild oats. The 780 bushels that remained graded No. 1 Northern, and brought $1 per bushel, leaving her only $533 after threshing expenses were deducted. This return was not enough to cover the annual mortgage installment of $1160, much less working expenses.

In a desperate attempt to increase revenues, Binnie-Clark paid $100 to have an additional 25 acres broken on her land, which she seeded the next spring. But owing to a wet spring seeding was delayed that year, with the result that crops matured late in the summer. With temperatures hovering near freezing in late August, Binnie-Clark had her wheat cut while still green. The loss in grade resulted in a net of only 35 cents per bushel, after the deduction of freight and storage charges. Total receipts that year for sales of wheat, pigs and butter amounted to less than $500, as opposed to $1050 in working expenses. These included:

Feed and seed	$64.90
Breaking 25 acres	100.00
Wages	260.00
Taxes	15.00
Fencing	9.50
Fanning Mill	26.00
Binder-twine	27.00
Hail insurance	19.50
Horse	150.00
Grocery, flour and meat, repairs, veterinary attendance	245.00
Threshing and teams	133.00
Total	$1050.60

In Binnie-Clark's view this outlay was nearly twice as large as the necessary average, as her grocery bills were too high, and certain capital costs such as breaking would not recur in succeeding years.

Whether the 1907 expenditures were an aberration or not, they had contributed to an ever-deepening mire of debt for the beleaguered Binnie-Clark. Obliged to obtain a deferment of her mortgage installment, she also had run up a debt at the local hardware store and an overdraft at the bank. Much hinged, therefore, on her capacity to turn a profit in 1908. That year, however, Binnie-Clark was thwarted by the vagaries of the grain handling system. Since her crop was sowed on three different plots of land, including the newly broken 25 acre field, she had reaped three different grades of wheat. Short of mixing the wild-oat infested wheat with the clean she did not have enough grain to fill a 1000-bushel rail car. Second, she had not ordered a car early enough to be sure of its delivery. Forced to sell "on the street" she received a poor price for the grain. Gross receipts that year amounted to $1191, and net revenue, after labour and living expenses, was $700. Yet even with this profit, Binnie-Clark had

fallen further behind in her mortgage commitments, which now amounted to more than $2000, including the previous year's deferred payment. After further drawing on her reserves in England, she continued doggedly for two more years before concluding that farming without an accumulated capital of £5000 was a futile proposition.

Yet other conclusions can be drawn from Georgina Binnie-Clark's experience, or more precisely, her lack of it. Unschooled in the principles of dry farming, she also learned through bitter experience the inequities of the grain handling system. As a woman, especially one not used to manual labour, she was obliged to pay others to do most of the farming work including grain hauling, which consumed a substantial share of revenues from the wheat crop. Her mistakes included an excessive reliance on wheat as a cash crop and financial over-extension.

To some extent Binnie-Clark's difficulties were beyond her control. Women, unless they were widows of homesteaders, were ineligible to apply for free grant lands. After the revival of the pre-emption privilege in 1908, men over the age of 18 could acquire 320 acres of homestead lands for $970 — one-fifth of the $5000 Binnie-Clark spent for her half-section. Instead of acquiring an equity of several thousand dollars to assist in the financing of implements and other improvements, she was immediately saddled with the "killing weight" of a land payment. Doomed from the start she joined the ranks of the thousands who vainly tried to establish themselves as farmers. Their failures gave the lie to the official predictions of easy profits.

The First World War and the Boom in Wheat Prices

For many prairie farmers, the long-awaited promise of prosperity seemed to arrive in 1914. The First World War brought a renewed demand for exported farm products, and grain and livestock prices began a steep climb in 1914-15. By 1918 the price of No. 1 Northern wheat peaked at $2.24 at Winnipeg.[48] But while western Canadian farmers enjoyed unparallelled returns for three or four years, the war sowed the seeds of future financial trouble. Buoyed by their large returns, many farmers invested heavily in farm equipment and land, for which they paid record-breaking prices. By the early twenties, however, the price bubble of prosperity had burst and farmers found themselves burdened with heavy mortgages for land that earned less than half as much as it had in the late 'teens.

Meanwhile salaries of farm labourers, which had been virtually static in the pre-war period, increased steadily from $35 to $80 per month

between 1914 and 1918.[49] The increased labour cost was partially reflected in higher overall production costs for wheat growing. In 1918 the Saskatchewan Department of Agriculture estimated that the cost of producing wheat had risen to $1.06 per bushel, or $14.85 per acre.[50] Their figures were similar to the results of a questionnaire distributed to 30 farmers throughout the province that year. The farmers reported that their costs had been $1.27 per bushel or $14.24 per acre.[51] This represented an overall increase of between $2 and $5 per acre in production costs since 1914.[52] Revenues had maintained a healthy margin over expenditures throughout the war, but the gap had narrowed considerably by 1920.

Despite the large increase in revenues and farm capital expenditures, no major trend towards mechanization occurred until after the end of the war. Farmers tended to replace old implements with new ones, but for the most part those purchases embodied traditional technology. Very few prairie farmers purchased tractors, as farmers clung to draft horses to provide their motive power.[53] By the 1920s the wholesale price index for fuels and implements had surged ahead of wholesale prices for grain products (Fig. 15).[54] Thus, farmers who had lagged behind in mechanization in the period of maximum farm revenues relative to costs were obliged to purchase expensive implements and gasoline in a period in which their income was declining relative to expenses.

The war had other, more serious, effects for the prairie economy. High wheat prices had encouraged over-cropping in many areas, resulting in soil exhaustion. After an outbreak of stem rust in 1916, yields declined steadily, reaching a pre-depression low of eight bushels per acre in 1919. Yet, despite the reduced yield, unprecedented grain prices at the end of the war momentarily kept returns high. As a result the transition to diversification was further delayed, and the prairie economy remained tied to the wheat staple.

Inflated wartime prices had the additional effect of spurring the cultivation of marginal and pasture lands that previously had been unprofitable to crop. It also provided incentive to settlers to clear wooded lands for production. Overall wheat acreage in the prairie provinces jumped from 9.3 million acres in 1914 to 16.1 million in 1918, and 40 000 new farms were created between 1916 and 1921. A search of land maps in the Abernethy district shows a similar trend. During the four years of the war, the number of farms in Township 20, Range 11 increased from 46 to 63, reversing a decline in the number of farms between 1906 and the outbreak of the war.

The most comprehensive source of economic detail for the post-war period in the Abernethy district is a study on farm indebtedness prepared

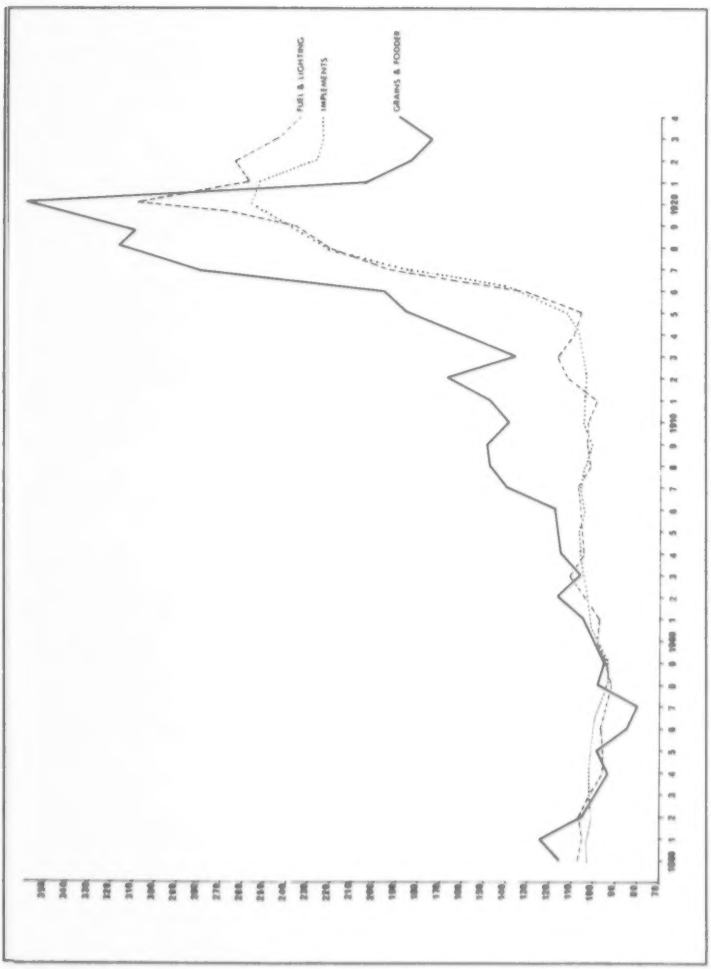


Fig. 15. Wholesale prices indexes by commodity groups [Dept. of Labour], 1890-1924, (1890-99 = 100). (M.C. Urquhart and K.A.H. Buckley, *Historical Statistics of Canada* [1965], p. 292).

by the Saskatchewan College of Agriculture in 1933.[55] This study, comprising the Indian Head-Balcarres, Lemberg-Neudorf, and Grenfell-Wolseley areas, constituted a quantitative analysis based on interviews with 414 farmers in the three areas. While much of the information provided in this report related primarily to the early thirties, many of the trends in land acquisition and net worth of individual farmers shed light on the earlier economic development of the area.

One of the most striking revelations of the Farm Indebtedness study was the relatively large capital accumulation, particularly in the Indian Head-Balcarres district in which Abernethy is situated in relation to the province as a whole. There the total average net capital per farm was $19 576 or more than twice as much as the provincial average of $9261 (Fig. 16). At Grenfell-Wolseley, the average capital was $14 766, and at Lemberg-Neudorf, $12 487. These figures represent the total capital as represented in land, buildings, livestock, machinery, feed, seed and supplies. While investments in each of these items exceeded the provincial average, the outlay for machinery and equipment was particularly large in the Indian Head-Balcarres area, where 65 percent of farmers had invested in tractors. In the Lemberg-Neudorf and Grenfell-Wolseley areas, 50 percent had purchased tractors.

Other amenities such as modern equipment for lighting and water supply were reported as prevalent in the Indian Head-Balcarres area. Further evidence of prosperity lay in the fact that 22 to 24 percent of farm capital was invested in farm buildings as opposed to a provincial average of 18 percent.

In all three areas the majority of the farmland was devoted to grain growing, although the proportions varied rather considerably from one area to the next. Abernethy farmers averaged 470 acres or 83 percent of their farm lands for crop or summer fallow, compared with only 268 acres of cropland or 57 percent of the available land at Neudorf. The remaining acreage was consumed by waste, pasture, woods, roads, and farmsteads. To a large extent, the large non-crop areas at Lemberg-Neudorf can be attributed to the presence of uncultivable wooded and marshy areas. As late as 1920, surveyors reported that only 65 percent of the lands in the townships to the north and south of Neudorf had been cleared for cultivation. In consequence, Lemberg-Neudorf farmers, while possessing on the average 83 percent as much farmland, cultivated less than half as much wheat acreage as their Abernethy counterparts.

Farm tenancy in the Abernethy area tended to be more extensive than in the Lemberg-Neudorf and Wolseley-Grenfell areas. Forty percent of Abernethy farm operators were tenants, compared with 19 percent of farm

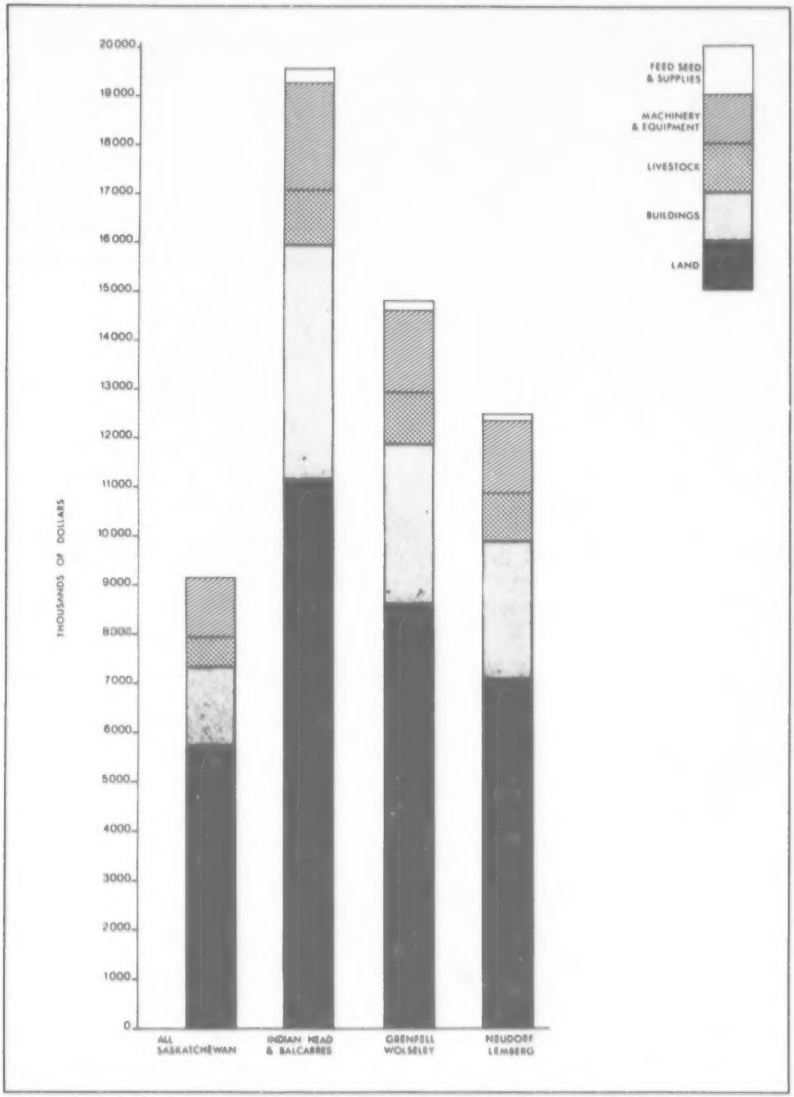


Fig. 16. Average capital per farm for the Province of Saskatchewan 1931 and for farms surveyed in the Indian Head-Balcarres, Grenfell-Wolseley, and Lemberg-Neudorf Districts, 1932-33 crop year.

operators at Grenfell-Wolseley and only nine percent of Lemberg-Neudorf farmers. The authors of the Farm Indebtedness study interpreted this fact as indicative of the profitability of the clay soils around Indian Head and Balcarres, which induced farmers to retain possession of their lands. The Farm Indebtedness study confirmed that farmers who had homesteaded continued to enjoy an economic advantage over those farmers who arrived later and purchased their land. In the Indian Head-Balcarres area, 90 percent of surveyed homesteaders had purchased lands to supplement their original holdings, compared with only 38 percent of non-homesteaders. Similarly, a far greater proportion of homesteading owners had made third and fourth additions of land subsequent to the first addition. In addition to owning larger tracts of farmland, homesteading owners also possessed a much smaller debt in relation to their overall assets than their non-homesteading counterparts. In 1933, farm owners in the Indian Head-Balcarres area who operated farms of 300 acres or less possessed debts equal to 46.1 percent of their assets, compared with debts of only 21.4 percent of assets for owner-operators of farms exceeding 676 acres.

From the foregoing statistics, it can be inferred that the comparatively minor investment entailed in settlement prior to 1900 placed early settlers in a position of economic advantage that they never surrendered. Early settlers who persisted eventually tended to possess the largest farms, the most expensive farm buildings, the greatest assets, and the smallest debts in relationship to assets.

Even more striking than the economic differences between settlers on free grant land and later settlers were the disparities between districts. In 1935 the Saskatchewan College of Agriculture published a study which calculated the approximate revenues of farms on varying types of soil in the province, on the basis of their previous performance.[56] Based on a comprehensive analysis of farm indebtedness in representative districts in nine distinct soil belts, the farm revenue study made separate tabulations of revenues and expenditures for 320- and 640-acre farms in each zone. Its conclusions demonstrated the marked inequalities in income that still existed among farmers on lands of varying quality. That income disparities were present was not surprising, but what was noteworthy was the virtual unprofitability of the quarter-section farm in six of the 11 identified soil zones. As the economic historian Robert Ankli has noted, if W.A. Mackintosh's cost figure of $9.81 per acre is correct, "then average prairie, fair prairie, inferior prairie, and poor prairie were either losing money or barely breaking even during the 1920s."[57]

Just as the Farm Indebtedness study had shown significant differences in accumulated capital between Abernethy and Neudorf farmers, the farm revenue report demonstrated markedly divergent incomes. Half-section farms on "very good park and prairie" soils at Abernethy earned cash incomes, on the average, of $510. After deduction of non-cash depreciation on buildings and machinery, farmers were left with a net of $307. But farms of 640 acres earned net incomes of $1280, or more than twice as much per acre of cropland as the half-section farms. These figures demonstrated the marginal status of smaller farms which were, for the most part, still dependent on horse-power, even on the higher quality soils. Operators of larger farms, who tended to use tractors, earned incomes sufficient to amortize lands to twice the value of the smaller operations. With such a large difference in income, the trend toward even larger farm units seemed an inevitability.

On the "fair to good Eastern Park" soils at Lemberg and Neudorf, similar differences existed between 320- and 640-acre farms, except that the half-section farms in these areas were losing money. On these farms, incomes averaged only $134 in net cash revenue, but after deducting depreciation expenses, the farmer's return had evaporated into an annual deficit of $10. Farms of 640 acres on these soils, on the other hand, earned net incomes of $523. These figures suggest that the larger farms at Neudorf were modest, but viable operations. Yet most farmers in the area operated small farms. At the time the survey was conducted 50 of 70, or 71 percent, of owner-operators at Neudorf possessed farms of 300 acres or less. The marginal status of their holdings was representative of broader inequalities in rural Saskatchewan society. To a significant degree these inequalities were the outgrowth of inequities in the original land disposition when these communities were first settled 40 to 50 years earlier.

Throughout its first 50 years the economy of the Abernethy district centred on wheat production and export. Despite recurrent anomalies in this predominantly single-crop economy, Abernethy never really experienced stages of agricultural development that had taken place in eastern North America. In those areas the early stage of subsistence-like agriculture had been succeeded by a period of wheat specialization followed by overcropping and concomitant soil exhaustion, and finally a diversification better attuned to the resource base of the particular area. At Abernethy and throughout most of the wheat belt of southeastern Saskatchewan, agriculture was never conducted on a purely subsistence basis, although many early settlers marketed wood, hay, and root products to provide a temporary livelihood in the farm-making period. Once they

had cultivated sufficient acreage, however, they quickly concentrated on wheat production, and to lesser extent oats. While some farmers attempted to cultivate other crops, such as brome grass and flax, census statistics show that diversification never really took hold, even in the context of the economic depression of the early thirties.

Since farm income was predominantly dependent on the wheat staple, it was necessarily somewhat erratic. Many early settlers had been crushed by the unfortunate coincidence of low wheat prices, poor yields and inferior grades in the 1880s and 1890s. Those who persisted, particularly early settlers who were able to reap a capital gain on their land, enjoyed a reasonable degree of economic success. By adopting new methods of dry farming they were able to reduce some of the risk and to regularize their income to some extent. But wheat farming, even in the relatively prosperous Abernethy district, continued to be a risky proposition. Farm debt became a common feature of economic life, particularly after the First World War price boom gave way to depression in the 1920s and 1930s. At the same time, the effects of debt were not uniformly felt. The earliest settlers, who had reaped a large capital gain by acquiring cheap land before the boom in real estate values, possessed the greatest assets and the fewest debts. Similarly, settlers who had occupied lands in areas of higher quality soils continued to augment their capital. Farmers on poor to average soils either continued to operate marginal operations or quit altogether to join the ranks of agrarian or urban labour.

IV. WORK AND DAILY LIFE AT THE MOTHERWELL FARM

Since the publication of Marc Bloch's *French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics*,[1] agricultural historians have increasingly turned to the study of daily life in search of a more rounded picture of rural society. Day-to-day activity can reveal a great deal about the objectives and material limitations of a society. The description of daily life specifically serves as a basis for historical animation at the Motherwell Homestead near Abernethy. Excepting some unique features, the processes of work and life at this farm paralleled those at other farms in the Abernethy district and throughout East Central Saskatchewan.

Between 1882 and 1914 daily life on Abernethy district farms revolved around work (Fig. 17). This was particularly true in the early homesteading period when the tasks of developing a farm on unimproved land demanded long hours of hard toil by all members of the family. Even after 1900 when farmers like W.R. Motherwell had built up extensive operations, work continued to be the focus of activity. As late as the 1930s, the busy summer months were characterized by 18-hour days. Yet the Motherwell family, like other prairie Anglo-Saxon families, had experienced significant changes in the kinds of work routines they performed after the initial settlement period. To some extent these changes stemmed from the appearances of advanced farm machinery and domestic labour-saving devices in the district in the 1890s. In a broader sense they represented the imposition of a middle-class lifestyle on a foundation of hired labour. These families had graduated to a new set of social responsibilities that accompanied their new lifestyle.

In 1910-14, the period of commemoration of the Motherwell Homestead National Historic Park, most of the manual labour on the farm was performed by employees. During this time, W.R. Motherwell employed at least two "hired men" or agricultural labourers and one or two "hired girls" for domestic work. In summer one man was employed

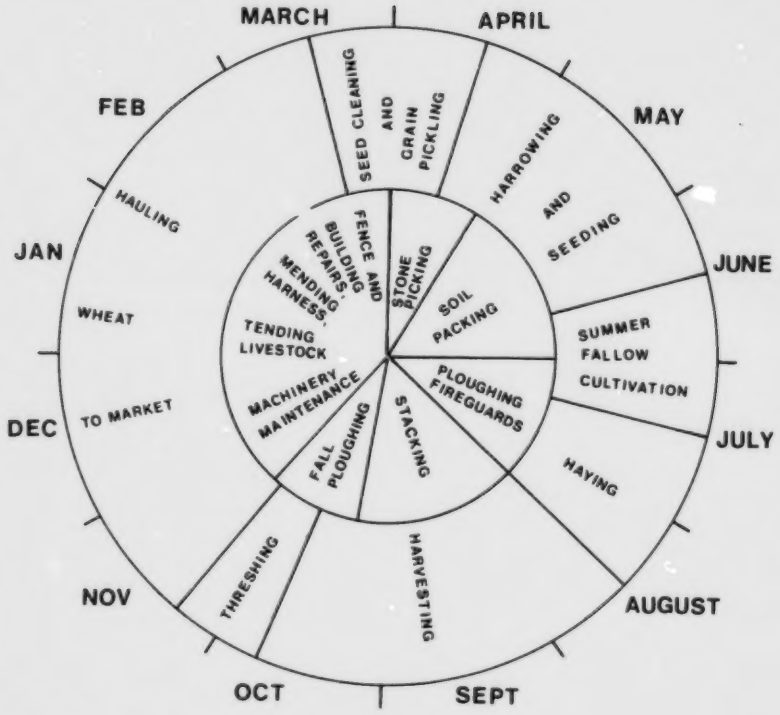


Fig. 17. The yearly cultivation cycle at the Motherwell Farm.

principally to do work within the farmstead. His duties included livestock maintenance and yard work — hedge trimming, grass cutting, hoeing around the shelter belt trees, and cultivating the garden and flower beds.[2] The other labourer was engaged for field work. At least one labourer was retained for winter work. Motherwell's son Talmage also worked in the fields with the hired men. Having completed a one-year course at the new Saskatchewan College of Agriculture in 1912,[3] he returned to the farm for one year to serve a brief apprenticeship. At the time of his marriage in 1913 Talmage received a dowry of two quarter-sections and was written out of his father's will.[4]

For farm staff a typical working day began early. Rising at 4:30 a.m. the hired men performed their ablutions,[5] dressed, and headed for the barn. There they cleaned the stables by guiding a horse-drawn stone boat through the corridor between the cattle and horse stalls. The draft horses

were made to pause before each stall while the men shovelled the manure onto the stone boat. Immediately they drove the manure out to the fields where they spread it with hand tools, either a fork or a shovel.[6]

After cleaning the stable the men fed the livestock, pumped water from the barnyard well into stock watering troughs, and let the animals out in the yard to drink. Usually they gave "chop" or milled oats, to the horses and a combination of raw oats and hay to the cattle. Accounts of two observers differ as to the form in which hay was given to the livestock and may suggest changing practice over time. Jack Bittner, who was Motherwell's neighbour after 1912, has stated that in this period, W.R. fed them brome hay from the sheaf.[7] Dan Gallant, who worked as a hired man at Lanark Place in 1920-22 and 1930-37, recalled having fed the stock loose hay.[8] In any event, the men produced the chop by operating a grain grinder in the loft. This machine was powered by a small stationary gasoline engine. The hired man shovelled oats into the implement's funnel-shaped hopper, which channelled the grain between the grinding plates or "burrs." The milled grain was then delivered along a chute and was shovelled into a bin.

The men groomed the horses with curry combs and brushes, a task described by a contemporary hired hand as "bothersome," because of the wildness and rambunctiousness of the horses.[9] During the cultivation season, they also clipped the horses to help keep them cool for heavy draft work.[10] At the Motherwell farm they used a set of automatic clippers. One man powered this tool by turning a hand crank, while the other did the clipping. After clipping, they harnessed the horses in preparation for field work after breakfast. Subsequently they gathered eggs from the poultry house in the east wing of the stable, milked the cows, and carried the eggs and milk containers to the kitchen.[11] Before breakfast at 7 a.m. one man emptied the bedroom chamber pots into a bucket from the upstairs chemical toilet and thence into the outdoor privy.[12]

Meanwhile the hired girl, who also rose at 4:30 am, peeled potatoes, prepared breakfast, and set the kitchen table for the first of several morning sittings.[13] Breakfast was a large meal at the Motherwell farm, and usually consisted of potatoes and some form of protein — meat, eggs, or fish.[14] After serving the hired men, the girl cleared off the dishes and began preparations for the next round, as the family members rose in sequence. One hired man returned to the barn where he hitched up the horse teams and headed for the field. The other stayed behind to turn the crank of the cream separator.[15] Depending on the amount of milk, this operation might last up to an hour. Dan Gallant, who was on the farm in the early 1920s, has related that he fed the hogs and chickens and cleaned

out the hog manure after breakfast. The pigs were given chop dampened with milk, and chickens were usually fed wheat kernels.[16] Cleaning out the two hog pens was a particularly unappealing job. Since Motherwell had not widened the original door to permit a manure cart to be backed in, the farm labourer was obliged to shovel the hog manure twice. First he filled up his shovel and pitched it over the pen fences in the direction of the door. He then reshovelled the manure and heaved it through the opening in the door onto a wagon.[17] After cleaning out the piggery, the hired man distributed the load of manure on the fields. He then began the work of maintaining the farmstead grounds, including trimming shrubs, thinning the shelter belts, cutting grass, and tending the garden and flower beds.[18]

Following the departure of the men, the "hired girl" continued to serve breakfast to other members of the household as they rose. Between servings she cleared away and washed dishes, and gave the upstairs rooms a light cleaning.[19] By mid-morning, she had begun preparations for the noon meal. While all meals on the farm were large, the noon meal or dinner as it was called, was the largest. It lasted one hour or longer since the farm horses needed as much time to rest between shifts of field work.[20]

After dinner the hired girl repeated the clean-up of dishes and immediately began preparations for supper. Other afternoon tasks may also have included butter churning and the packaging of one-pound cubes in paper for market.[21] While the hired girls were spared most outside work, they were sometimes obliged to do the milking at the homestead.

At the Motherwell farm, supper was a meal wrapped in tradition and ceremony. All members of the household, including hired hands, were in attendance and all were expected to participate in its rituals. One of these was the "cent-a-meal" fund [22] for Christian missionary work. W.R. Motherwell kept a box into which each person was expected to contribute a penny. The other ritual was the daily religious service which Motherwell conducted after supper. After clearing away the supper dishes the hired girl was required to fetch the family Bible and to pass out hymn books.[23] Motherwell read a scriptural message, and then asked one of the assembled diners to select a hymn, which the group sang. Some of the hired men were less than enthusiastic about the whole procedure. One hired girl took advantage of the opportunity to select the longest hymns possible, while delighting in the suppressed grimaces of the victims.[24]

Hired girls in many respects had the most arduous daily schedules on the farm. Their working days often lasted from 5 a.m. to 10 p.m.[25] While hired hands could at least rest during meal hours, domestic staff were

busy serving others at meal time. Two hired girls at the Motherwell farm have related that they never sat down at the supper table, but were in constant attendance.[26] Statistical studies of field and household labour on American farms in the early 1920s show that farm women worked an average of 11.7 hours per day, seven days a week.[27]

In addition to the daily regimen, larger housekeeping activities were organized on a weekly cycle. Different tasks were performed on specific days. Motherwell's and other Abernethy-area farms, laundry was usually done on Monday. Tuesday was reserved for ironing.[28] At the Barnsley farm, north of Abernethy, Friday was devoted to cleaning the upstairs, and on Saturday the downstairs rooms were cleaned in preparation for guests on Sunday.[29] Twice a week the Motherwell's hired girl baked bread. She was required to rise twice in the middle of the night to punch down the bread dough.[30]

Seasonally, the two busiest times of the year for farm women were spring and fall. Every spring the house received a thorough cleaning. In addition to cleaning the main and upper floors, the domestic staff also whitewashed the basement.[31] In the fall farm women worked for weeks in advance of the harvest, preparing food for hungry threshing gangs. In her autobiography, Nellie McClung remembered:

> *It was for threshing that sauerkraut was put up in barrels (chopped by a new spade) and green tomato pickles were made; red cabbage and white were chopped up with onions, vinegar cloves and sugar, corn, scraped from the cobs and all kept in stone crocks. Every sort of cake that would keep was baked and hidden. The woman who had nothing ready for the threshers was almost as low in the social scale as "the woman who had not a yard of flannel in the house when the baby comes."*[32]

During the actual harvest, farm women worked particularly long hours to provide the threshers with three square meals a day, while preparing basket lunches each morning and afternoon.[33] Their work began long before dawn and lasted until late at night.

The yearly cultivation cycle (Fig. 17) began in late March or early April, when the hired men cleaned grain in preparation for seeding. The first of two cleaning operations was the winnowing of the grain by means of a fanning mill (Fig. 18). These implements consisted of a square framework, a series of vibrating sieves and a revolving drum. The essential principle was for the grain to slide along the sieves through which extraneous particles of different size would drop, thereby separating out

Fig. 18. Cleaning seed oats with a fanning mill on T.J. King farm, Carbon area, Alberta, 1920. (Glenbow Alberta Institute Archives, NA-2298-1).

impurities. A wind current created by the revolving drum also helped blow dust and weed seeds away from the seed grain while it moved along the sieves. The drum was operated by a hand crank, which, through a system of chains and gearing, also agitated the sieves. While one man turned the crank, another kept the hopper at the top of the machine filled with grain.[34] As the cleaned grain emerged from the machine he shovelled it into a bin.

The second cleaning operation was the "pickling" of grain, which entailed immersing it in chemicals, usually the day before seeding. Grain pickling was practised principally to make the seed resistant to smut, a fungal infestation, but this operation also served to remove impurities that had not been separated out during the fanning process. In the early period grain was usually treated with "bluestone," or copper sulphate, but by 1908 most farmers in the Qu'Appelle region were said to have switched to "formalin,"[35] a trade name for formaldehyde. The recommended solution was two pounds of formalin to 60 gallons of water.

Depending on the amount of grain to be treated farmers used either simple or more elaborate implements in pickling. However, the basic principle, to coat each kernel with the solution, was the same. Georgina Binnie-Clark, who farmed about 30 miles from Abernethy, has related her method for treating the grain. She purchased a pickling barrel and immersed bushel bags of grain in a formalin bath for at least ten minutes.[36] While immersed, the grain was further cleaned as weed seeds and smut

balls floated to the surface and were skimmed off. Binnie-Clark then lifted out each bag and left the grain to dry in the sack. She observed that more prosperous farmers often purchased two pickling barrels. Rather than use bags they dumped loose wheat in the top barrel; when the grain had been sufficiently soaked, they pulled out a cork to permit the formalin solution to drain into the bottom barrel. The pickled seed was then thrown into a corner of the barn, covered with moistened sacks to prevent the formalin fumes from escaping and left to dry. The process was repeated with the next quantity of seed grain.[37]

The Motherwell homestead, a substantial farm of 960 acres in 1912, required a somewhat more efficient apparatus for pickling larger quantities of seed grain. The remains of two seed grain picklers of the pre-First World War period have been found on the homestead. The first, a Dominion Specialty Works model, consisted of a table-like apparatus on which was mounted a funnel-shaped hopper and a galvanized barrel for the chemical solution. A hose ran from the barrel to a turbine placed directly beneath the hopper, which was punctured by numerous holes. The hired men shovelled the grain into the hopper and pulled away a stopper, causing the grain to fall on the turbine. The falling grain turned the turbine and was simultaneously sprayed with the solution. As the treated grain piled up on the floor it was shovelled away from the machine. The other pickler, an Acme model, was similar to the Dominion pickler, except that the grain did not drop through a turbine but was instead channelled into a horizontal chute. An endless wooden screw turned the grain over several times, so that it was well-coated by the time it was delivered to the end of the chute.

Meanwhile the hired men had begun to work the fields to prepare the seed beds. As one of the principal proponents of systematic "dry farming," W.R. Motherwell gave precise instructions to his men relating to the timing and techniques practised in field cultivation. As soon as the soil was in sufficiently friable condition after the spring thaw, the men harrowed the land. Motherwell insisted on an early harrowing so as to leave a surface mulch that would effectively check evaporation of moisture. Moisture retention also helped the soil remain warm, thus facilitating early seeding, a crucial factor in Western Canada's brief growing season. Harrowing also broke down clods of earth into a fine granular condition, suitable for a seed bed.[38]

Motherwell's preferred harrow was the simple iron-toothed drag harrow, which the horse teams, guided by a hired man, pulled across the fields. This was a dusty, dirty job that was not made any easier by Motherwell's insistence that his men walk behind the harrows.[39]

Naturally the men wished to use a harrow cart, that would have enabled them to sit while harrowing. Motherwell discouraged this practice because he said that if his men were seated, they would not be inclined to clear away trash when it collected on the harrow teeth. One man who was a labourer on the farm in the 1920s has related that he used a harrow cart despite the orders.[40]

Spring tillage was not limited to the preparation of a seed bed. No doubt Motherwell also followed the advice of his colleague, Angus McKay, superintendent of the Indian Head Experimental Farm, in pursuing a ploughing regimen on his summer-fallowed land. He would have instructed his hired men to plough the fallow lands as early as possible after completing the seeding, so that the land would be "in the most receptive condition to fully absorb and save from waste all the early and later rains."[41] This work was performed with a gang plough (Fig. 19). The land was then immediately harrowed to create an insulating surface mulch that helped check the capillary action through which evaporation of valuable moisture resulted.

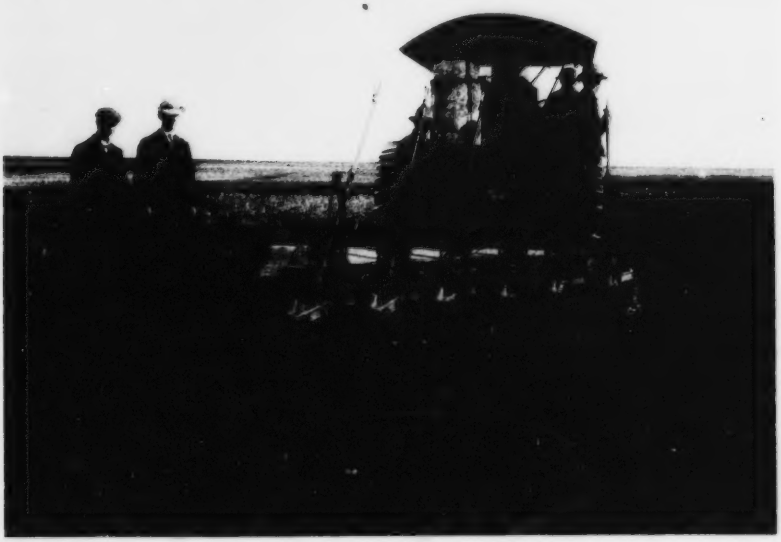


Fig. 19. Breaking sod with a Hart-Parr tractor and six-bottom gang plough. Asquith District, Saskatchewan, ca. 1910. This outfit was very similar to W.R. Motherwell's tractor and gang plough. (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, R-A12, 082).

The men sowed the grain with a drill-seeder, on which they stood or which they followed on foot while it was pulled through the fields by two or more teams of horses. After sowing they harrowed the ground again to provide a better cover for the seed. Beginning in late April, seeding and related activities sometimes lasted until mid-June, depending on the moisture content of the soil and the type of crop sown.[42] In a wet spring the clay gumbo soils around Abernethy were impossible to work until they had dried sufficiently. Different maturation times determined the sequences of planting. Forage crops, such as brome, were seeded early to permit two harvests of hay during the summer. Wheat was also planted early, while early-ripening grains, such as barley and oats, were seeded last.

After seeding and harrowing the seed bed, many farmers packed the soil. After 1905, when Saskatchewan farmers began to purchase gas tractors, all three operations were often combined in one, with seeder, harrow and packer arranged behind the tractor. Before 1900 they had "rolled" the land with a heavy cylinder of wood or iron, drawn by horses over the ground.[43] Rolling provided a means of smoothing and solidifying the soil, and served to arrest the loss of moisture. It also helped to break up the clods, a result that was particularly desired in areas of heavy clay soils, such as Abernethy. Another effect was to level the land to create an even surface for harvesting equipment, such as mowers and binders. If, however, clay soils were rolled when still saturated with moisture, the soil would "cake" or form a crust and prevent the wheat plants from forcing their way to the surface. Hence, rolling was generally not performed until the plants were three or four inches high. At this stage, they were still flexible enough to spring back after being flattened. The small plants also prevented small particles of fine soil from drifting in the wind, according to a contemporary manual of prairie farming.[44]

Rolling was a controversial technique. In order to establish its utility, the Dominion Experimental Farm at Brandon conducted rolling tests in the 1890s. The experimenters showed that, while slightly increasing yields, rolling had a pulverizing effect on soils that contributed to the danger of blowing and drifting. As a result, its use had waned by the turn of the century.[45]

From 1907 on, prairie farmers turned increasingly to soil packing as an alternative to rolling. Packers applied pressure to the lower part of the seed bed, and thus firmed the soil around the seed, while leaving the desired loose mulch on top. While tests initiated at Brandon eventually showed no clear increase in yields resulted from packing, it was a widely-used technique on the prairies before the First World War.[46]

It is not known whether or not W.R. Motherwell used a packer on his farm, but his ministerial correspondence reveals that he approved of this method. Motherwell was of the view that all fall and summer ploughing was improved by packing.[47] However, he regarded the diamond-spiked harrow as a suitable substitute for the packer, and he may have instructed his men to use this implement instead.[48] He also recommended harrowing the grain plants as soon as they appeared above ground, and a second time when the plants were four to five inches high. Since harrowing at this stage was certain to pull some of the sown plants out, he instructed that the grain be sown more thickly than usual. To minimize damage to the young plants, Motherwell had his men use light wooden harrows with round teeth. The light harrows were still effective in removing most of the weeds and in creating a soil mulch.[49]

Since Motherwell cultivated extensive acreages of brome grass in this period, he frequently encountered the problem of eradicating it when tilling the land to convert its use to grain production or fallow. The process began in the previous fall, when the men ploughed the brome grass just below the root system or about four inches deep. In the spring the men disked and harrowed this fall plowing to get it in suitable condition for the cultivator; then, in May, they went over the same land with a duck-foot cultivator. This operation shook the brome sods and roots, so that, exposed to the sun and wind, the grass could not re-root itself. The cultivating was repeated once a week throughout the month.[50]

Alternatively, when spring ploughing was required to eradicate twitch and other weed grasses, Motherwell recommended shallow ploughing very early in the season. This tillage was followed immediately by harrowing and seeding as soon as a half-day seeding was prepared, so that unnecessary moisture loss could be avoided. The early seeding was intended to give the grain plants a head start so as to choke out the weeds before they had re-rooted.[51] An alternative method recommended by Motherwell was to spring-plough, then leave the field to enable the first crop of weed seeds to germinate. About the beginning of June, his hired men would plough the young weed plants under, using a shallow adjustment on the gang ploughs. They immediately followed with a cultivator or disc harrows, and seeded the tilled land with barley.[52] Motherwell was of the opinion that these operations were best done simultaneously.[53] Since he possessed sufficient motive power in his Hart-Parr he could hitch all of these draft implements in tandem. The cultivator differed from a plough in that it did not turn the soil over and did not till as deep. At the same time the cultivator tended to pulverize the soil less than a harrow,

and it was more efficient in cutting off weeds and breaking up the surface to permit rain water to soak in.[54]

The purpose of summer fallowing was fourfold:

> *(i) to kill weeds by stirring up the soil so that weed seeds in it would germinate, and then to expose them to the air so that they would be destroyed;*
> *(ii) by admitting air and moisture, to hasten the decay of the unrotted stubble;*
> *(iii) to bring the raw subsoil to the surface to be pulverized and aerated; and*
> *(iv) to pulverize the soil so that it would create a mulch surface layer to retain the soil's moisture.*

Immediately after the initial summer fallow cultivation, the fields were harrowed lengthwise of the furrow. The land was then left for several weeks while the weed seeds germinated, after which it was harrowed crosswise.[55] Early July provided a lull in the cultivation cycle between seeding and harvest. At the Chipperfield farm six miles south of Motherwell's, men customarily used this period to build and repair fencing, cut wood, and cultivate the garden.[56] In the early 1900s prairie fires were still a threat, so the hands ploughed fireguards around the farm buildings, fields, and hay stacks.[57]

Meanwhile, by mid-July, farmers had begun the process of haying. Hay grass grew naturally around sloughs or was cultivated infields as a forage. One man cut the grass with a mower, while another "coiled" it into rows with a horse rake.[58] After leaving the hay to dry and "cure" for a few days the hands returned with horse rakes to collect the hay into piles.[59] They then drove a hay rack to each pile on which they pitched the hay with a fork. From there they drove the loader to the barn and up onto the drive floor where they pitched the hay into the hay mows.[60]

Since it was carried out in the month of peak temperatures, haying was particularly unpleasant and tiring work. Not only was the air hot, the hay also became hot to touch. One settler who worked as a hired hand related his experiences in haying:

> *After you have worked a whole day in that glowing hot hay, under the broiling sun, all alone, let me tell you, you lose quite a few drops of sweat. "Pails full," Uncle Lewis would say. In the evening you're dead tired, innumerable blisters on your hands, and your back feels broken from the continuous bending.*[61]

In early August the hired men began the fall harvest. Starting with the early-ripening barley and oats, they used a binder or self-binding reaper to cut the grain. As the binder moved forward it bound the grain into sheaves and, when it had collected several bundles, ejected them to one side. Two men, following on foot, raced to "stook" the grain by arranging eight sheaves in pyramid formation.[62] The sheaves were stooked in rows north to south to permit the wheat to ripen evenly on both sides.[63] They were then left for several days to dry. To prevent rotting after a rainfall the men occasionally restooked the sheaves by placing the inner sheaves on the outside of the stook.[64] Since the stook often had to stand for many weeks before threshing, the stooker had to drive the butt end of each sheaf firmly into the ground.[65]

Stooking was said to be one of the most undesirable jobs of the harvest season. Stookers complained of sores and blisters on their hands, which, despite the use of gloves, were rubbed raw by the straw. Their backs ached from interminable bending. Often they worked in hot weather. Regardless of the temperature the men could not roll up their sleeves or else their forearms would likewise be rubbed raw. Another problem was the early morning dew which "gets into your shoes to mix with the dust ... to make walking a trial by ordeal."[66]

Moreover, since the grain had to be cut at the optimal moment, harvesting operations entailed particularly long working days. In his personal memoir of working on a western Canadian farm, A.G. Street has related that a normal stooking day lasted between 6 a.m. and noon, and then from 1 p.m. to 8 p.m.[67]

An optional activity between stooking and threshing was grain stacking. Stacking was probably practised principally in the era of the large threshing outfits, when farmers often waited for several weeks or months before a threshing machine and crew became available (Fig. 20). In the meantime, stacking provided added protection from moisture for the wheat sheaves. A contemporary prairie agricultural manual suggested that the quality of grain stacked before threshing was superior to that of wheat threshed directly from the stook.[68] In his diary entries for 1902, W.R. Motherwell's neighbour, Samuel Chipperfield, recorded that between 17 September and 11 October his men spent about three weeks stacking oats and barley.[69]

Stacks were built in the field to remove the need to draw the sheaf racks across the rough land.[70] Farmers commonly built four stacks, in pairs six to eight feet apart. Initially they built a large circular stook base with a diameter of eight feet. The hired men then arranged two layers of sheaves, one on top of the other, with the heads angled inwards to rest

Fig. 20. Threshing in January was common in the early 1890s. Here the Sperling outfit works on J.R. Brown's farm, south of Qu'Appelle. (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, R-A2476).

against the stook. One man stood on the stack building it while two others pitched sheaves to him.[71] He placed the butt ends of the sheaves so that they extended past the bands of the previous row. Gradually, this shingle-like formation diminished in diameter until the stack formed a rounded peak. At the peak a long stake was driven through a sheaf to fasten the stack securely. Stacks were built high — about 20 to 24 feet — to prevent rain water from seeping in.[72] (Two grain stacks are shown in cover illustration.)

While the stacked grain was "curing," the hired men were principally busy with fall cultivation of the stubble fields. Other fall chores included the slaughter and butchering of livestock, such as pigs and cattle (Fig. 21). James M. Minifie has provided a very detailed account of the operations involved in slaughtering a pig on his father's homestead.

> *Preparations were intensive. My father built a bench about eighteen inches high, a solid job with two-by-sixes, with two-by-four legs. We set up a barrel with a tripod and pulley and tackle above it. We had a container of water boiling on the stove. Preparations included a busket for the offal, a couple of iron scrapers which had started life as garden hoes, and a lard-pail for the blood. It was my job to catch the blood and stir it well to prevent clotting, fetch scalding water and scrape the bristles off the hide. This meant dunking the carcase in the barrel as soon as the pig was dead; if there was delay, the bristles did not come out, and a dinner of roast pork was like eating hairbrush.*[73]

The Minifies then, with much difficulty, slaughtered the pig, dunked it in the barrel to scald the skin, scraped off the bristles, suspended it by the hind legs, and disembowelled it.

The last stage of the grain-growing cycle was threshing. Ordinarily the grain was threshed in late October or early November, within a few weeks of the completion of harvesting and stacking. Before the advent of smaller portable separators around 1910, however, most Abernethy-area farmers did not own their own threshing machines and were dependent on the availability of hired harvest gangs. If the farmer participated in the co-operative purchase of a separator, he drew lots to determine the order in which his grain would be threshed.[74] In either case Abernethy farmers might have to wait until December or even January to thresh their grain.

Threshing was a brief but intensive operation at the farm. In addition to his regular hired men, W.R. Motherwell employed a large number of extra hands, including migrant threshermen who had come west from Ontario on harvest excursions. Motherwell's daughter Alma remembered that at least 20 men participated in threshing operations at the Homestead.[75] Most other period accounts similarly place the number of required threshers at about 18 to 20 men.[76] By about 1910, W.R. Motherwell and other Abernethy area farmers had purchased their own smaller separators, which required fewer men.[77] The number of grain bundles to be pitched did not diminish, however, and the time required for threshing lengthened, accordingly, from several days to perhaps two weeks.

The threshing machine or grain separator was driven by means of a belt from a power source. In the 1890s, before straw-burning steam engines were prevalent, horse teams were used to power the machines.[78] By 1910 the steam engines, in turn, were beginning to be superseded by gasoline tractors (Fig. 22). While the separator was in operation, two drivers or "teamsters" drove wagon racks loaded with grain sheaves

Fig. 21. Butchering a pig near Pincher Creek, Alberta. The suspension of carcasses from a tripod apparatus for butchering was generally practised on farms across the prairies. (Glenbow Alberta Institute Archives, NA-2001-15).

Fig. 22. Threshing on the H.T. Smith farm south of Abernethy with a portable steam engine, ca. 1890s. The engine was pulled from farm to farm by horses or oxen. The driver on the right may be W.R. Motherwell. (Photo courtesy of Bert Garratt, Abernethy, Sask.).

beside it. Two men climbed on to each wagon and, using a fork, pitched sheaves into the separator. As the machine separated the wheat kernels from the straw and chaff, the threshed grain was discharged through an auger into a granary or the box of a grain wagon. If the grain was threshed into wagons, three or four other drivers hauled wagon loads, when filled, to granaries placed elsewhere on the farm. At the separator, meanwhile, as each rack was emptied of its sheaves, the teamsters drove their racks off to stack a new load. Two other wagons then drove beside the separator, and their contents were similarly emptied into the machine.[79]

Meanwhile in the field, pitchers used forks to throw sheaves onto the bundle wagons as they returned for a new load. These forks had three long steel prongs and round wooden handles about five feet long. As the sheaves were heaved to the middle of the wagon, the driver, using a fork, arranged them to permit quick loading and to distribute the weight evenly.[80]

Threshing gangs usually included seven or eight teamsters and four pitchers to keep the machine in constant use. Gangs also included an

engineer for the machine, a man to keep watch over the separator and oil it periodically, a tank man to provide water for the steam engine, a stoker, and three or four men to transport the separated grain to granaries.[81] The water man was busy throughout the day hauling water from nearby sloughs and dugouts to the steam engine.[82] He and the engine man had to be vigilant for any outbreak of fire. The combination of dry straw, great heat generated by the engine, and the frequent need to load it presented a very real danger of igniting the prairie. If fire started and got out of control, it could destroy the entire year's harvest.

If threshing operations were delayed until the winter months certain improvisations were necessary. The snow-covered ground obliged the teamsters to mount their sheaf-racks on sleigh runners.[83] Nightfall arrived early, necessitating the placement of a lamp or electric headlight on the engine. The headlight illuminated the "self-feeder" end of the separator to enable the pitchers to see where to throw their sheaves. A contemporary thresherman later recalled that "when you pulled out from the glare of it you were almost blind for a moment or two."[84] Aside from the obvious danger of slipping into the machine, he described other adverse conditions associated with the work:

> *... It was harvesting extraordinary. The stooks were just mounds of snow to look at. As the sheaves were pitched up, frozen ice and snow whipped across the loader's face. It was about zero weather and the cold made the engine difficult to start. This was worse than the work, as the cold got right into you as you were waiting about.*[85]

The thresherman related that one of his fellow workers built a straw fire beside the separator to warm himself. Clearly, winter threshing entailed hardship for many seasonal workers. In another account a harvest hand described winter threshing as particularly miserable when snow fall alternated with melting, making the work "cold as the Dickens, especially at night." He stated that since there was insufficient room in the threshers' shack, he was obliged to sleep outside in the December snow.[86] He also wrote of "the ease with which you strain your muscles," while pitching sheaves in cold weather.

Like the proverbial ploughman the western Canadian thresherman has been the subject of romanticized folklore. Numerous live demonstrations of threshing operations at country fairs such as the Manitoba Thresherman's Reunion are steeped in nostalgia. Possibly the modern farmer, with his solitary practice of driving a combine through fields of

swathed grain, longs for the days when neighbours and travelling threshermen worked together at harvest time. What is easily forgotten is that work with threshing machines was an arduous, sometimes dangerous, often alienating labour. One observer in the period distinguished between the social aspects of threshing in old Ontario and what he regarded as the more mercenary character of prairie threshing after 1900.[87]

Threshing accidents were not uncommon. Occasional reports of accidents appeared in the local press and in pioneer reminiscences. In 1899 one Billy Ringrose, a young bachelor working on a threshing gang at Pheasant Forks, stepped on a belt feeding the separator. Simultaneously the horses which were providing the power for the separator began walking on the treadmill. The belt was icy; Billy slipped and was drawn into the machine. His leg crushed and severed at the groin, the young thresher bled to death.[88] In 1906 a young English hand was standing beside a threshing machine on the farm of Motherwell's neighbour Arthur Bearden, when the machine collapsed and crushed him. By the time the others had emptied the machine to release him, he had suffocated.[89] Even when the machines were not in operation, they posed potential hazards. At Kenlis, south of the Motherwell homestead, Archie Wright slipped while moving a separator. The wheel cut into his leg, breaking the bone.[90]

Harvest employees contended with other problems related to their transient status and lack of material comforts. James M. Minifie has described one difficulty that is not mentioned in the usual accounts.

> *There is another hazard for the thresherman. The water at each farm varies slightly in mineral content, not much, but just enough to throw the body off balance, and produce a weakening looseness, which adds to the miseries of a sleepless night, even where adequate toilet facilities are available, an unlikely occurrance when casual labour is employed. Squatting at night in a field of stubble qualifies for Dante's Purgatorio.*[91]

Grain hauling or "teaming" was the principal work activity during the winter months of November to March. This was particularly the case in the period before 1904, when most of the farmers' productive time was consumed by tasks relating to marketing wheat. As noted earlier, the lack of local rail service before 1904 obliged farmers to haul their grain 20 to 35 miles to market centres on the CPR line.[92] In addition to the distance factor, farmers north of the Qu'Appelle River Valley had to contend with the problem of negotiating its 300-foot or 400-foot banks. Since grain wagons could easily tip over on the descent farmers were limited to loads

of 50 bushels.[93] The danger of spillage also required that they bag their grain — another time-consuming process. Settlers were further impeded by the need of at least two teams of horses to pull their grain wagons up the valley slope. They therefore travelled in pairs and doubled up their teams for the ascent. After both teams pulled one wagon to the top, the teamsters unhitched them and returned to the valley floor to pull the other wagon up.[94]

Estimates vary as to the time required to make the trip to the rail centre. Obviously the time was affected by distance and by driving conditions. In the winter trails were often made "heavy"[95] by drifting snow and the teamster's progress was slowed. Late in the winter, melting affected the capacity of the trails to carry the load. Often, as the driver tried to negotiate the high drifts, one side of the wagon collapsed under the weight of the load. He had to throw the grain bags off the wagon to get the sleigh back on the trail. A teamster related that, when hauling grain in late March, he was once forced to load and unload three or four times in a five-mile stretch.[96] Most oral history sources state that the round trip took a minimum of 20 hours.[97] In addition, the teamsters needed to clean the grain before loading it. Fanning mills in use in the period of commemoration had a maximum capacity of 25 to 35 bushels of wheat per hour. Hence teamsters spent about 1 to 1.5 hours cleaning the grain, in addition to time spent in hitching and unhitching the horse teams before and after the trip.

Another task ancillary to grain hauling was the lifting of the grain wagon box on to the bob sleighs. First the front end had to be lifted on to one set of runners, then the back end was raised, swung around, and lowered onto the rear runners. A second tier was then fitted onto the wagon box. As James M. Minifie has noted this was a "tricky job" for one person to perform; swinging the box around always carried the danger of a "pulled back" or "slipped disc."[98]

In his social history of a Saskatchewan rural municipality, Bruce Peel has provided a vivid account of the process of grain hauling.

> *In preparation for the journey the farmer loaded the wheat on the wagon the night before. Standing in the granary, ankle-deep in the wheat, he scooped up shovelful after shovelful and, with a rhythmic swing, tossed it into the wagon. Poets have waxed eloquent over the "golden grain"; but no poet ever shovelled the stuff. Dust filled the air, irritated the shoveller's nose and throat, and itched his sweaty cheeks. Perspiration trickled a smeary path down his dusty cheeks. He puffed with exertion. His*

back ached from stooping and straightening as he shovelled the innumerable scoops needed to fill a wagon. Sooner or later, when he straightened his back to rest it, he caught it on one of the taut strands of twisted wire used to brace the granary. With dogged determination he stooped again to shovel. The wagon had to be loaded. Between two and five o'clock in the morning the farmer arose. Lantern in hand, he went to the stable to feed and harness his horses, while his wife prepared breakfast, and packed a lunch. The half-frozen lunch would be eaten when the farmer stopped along the trail to feed his horses.

The four horses were hitched to the wagon. To facilitate the loading of the wagon little hollows had been dug into which the hind wheels had been lowered. Now the horses tugged and strained to pull the wagon out of the hollows. The silence of the morning was broken by the shouts of the farmer urging his horses on, by the crack of the whip, by the metallic clanking of whipple trees and traces, and then by the crunching of wagon wheels on frozen ground.[99]

On reaching town the teamster drove the wagon to an elevator to sell his load. When the wagon was in place on a large set of floor scales, the elevator agent weighed the loaded wagon and graded a sample. In the period before 1904, when the grain was bagged in heavy cotton sacks, the teamster then dumped each bag's contents through a hatch into a hopper. The building of local elevators at the time of the founding of the village of Abernethy removed the need to bag grain, since farmers now did not have to cross the Qu'Appelle Valley or Pheasant Creek Coulée. Thereafter grain wagons were lifted mechanically at the front end to permit the bulk loaded grain to spill through the hatch. Once all the grain had been dumped the elevator agent weighed the empty wagon, to arrive at the net weight of grain. After calculating the value of the grain he gave the teamster a cheque in exchange.[100] The teamster then drove to local retail outlets, to load up with groceries and supplies, before beginning the return trip.

In his diary entries for 1902-1903, Samuel Chipperfield recorded that between 10 November and 24 March his hired man and another seasonal labourer made 40 trips to market. These trips consumed two days each — one day outbound and another for the return journey. On the average the men made slightly more than one return trip per week, usually to Sintaluta on the CPR. In early January, after the bulk of the hauling had been

completed, Chipperfield laid off the seasonal hand. His regular hired man hauled the remaining stored grain for the balance of the season.[101]

Other winter activities included cutting and hauling wood, building and repairing granaries, and fencing.[102] Winter provided a somewhat slower pace, which enabled the farmer also to mend harness and repair machinery. Feeding and watering livestock, and cleaning out stables were ongoing winter responsibilities. Milking of cows, cream separation, and butter preparation as well as the collection of hen's eggs, continued throughout the winter.

By 1914, for its part, the Motherwell family was preoccupied with tasks relating to its role as a leading middle-class family in the Abernethy district. As provincial minister of agriculture, Motherwell himself was living in Regina and returned home only on week-ends and holidays. Catherine, his wife, acted as a surrogate farm manager, and communicated Motherwell's instructions to the hired men. She also held sway in the domestic sphere, supervising the work of the hired girls and her sister, Janet Gillespie, who now lived on the farm. Mrs. Motherwell did domestic accounts[103] and, with the hired girl, worked out daily menus. As a prominent member of local women's groups and in her role as a politician's wife, she hosted large gatherings at the farm throughout the year.

For the Motherwell family, daily roles in the pre-First World War period increasingly assumed the form of prototypes that have been described in Thorstein Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class*[104] and other sources. Between 1841 and 1914, as Ann Oakley has shown, middle-class wives in England assumed roles of leisure.[105] Their dependence on their husbands became a sought-after ideal, since this very dependence became a mark of status for their husbands. "The successful businessman delighted to show off his wife and daughters expensively clad, living a life of ease and elegance."[106] In a study of Edwardian women, Kate Caffrey has described the typical English middleclass life of leisure:

> *Even the middle classes could keep up a style of living that surprises the present-day reader .... They went to luncheon parties, tennis parties, garden parties, and like the aristocracy, subscribed to the elaborate ritual of afternoon tea. It was, perhaps, the halcyon time of suburbia. Trim villas with evocative names like The Laurels, standing in neat gardens, contained a firm family life, gradually relaxing to permit croquet on Sundays with an indoor variation on rainy days played on a green baize cloth spread on the dining table, and church connections encouraged amateur dramatics, music, tennis and badminton.*[107]

Fig. 23. W.R. and Catherine Motherwell on their front door step. (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina).

This picture of Edwardian England might in many respects equally be applied to the Motherwells, a middle-class Anglo-Canadian prairie family aspiring to social prominence in their community. In imitation of his English counterparts, Motherwell established an elegant late Victorian home and pastoral estate with an evocative name; he called it "Lanark Place" in fond memory of the Ontario county of his birth. Contemporary photographs show the Motherwells entertaining large groups on their lawn, sometimes under the huge canopy of an open-air tent. The Motherwells also hosted lawn-tennis parties, and possessed the only tennis court in the district.[108] The Motherwells even went so far as to emulate a particularly fashionable practice among the English middle classes. They sent their daughter to study in Germany for a year. Her stay was cut short by the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

Further indications of "conspicuous consumption" among the various members of W.R. Motherwell's family were revealed in their clothing. As Thorstein Veblen has noted the function of middle-class dress was to convey the impression that one did not work for a living. While Motherwell's wife and daughter were fashionably clad in current vogue that seemed to proclaim their leisured status, so Motherwell himself donned the bowler hat, vested suit and prominently displayed gold watch chain that marked him as a gentleman farmer and politician (Fig. 23). Perhaps the ultimate expression of Motherwell's adoption of Edwardian dress codes was his first class Civil Uniform, replete with cocked hat, embroidered closed-front tailcoat and sword, which he wore to the coronation of King George V in England in 1911.[109]

This is not to suggest that Motherwell or even his wife, Catherine, led lives of leisure; both were particularly active and contributed much to community affairs. Motherwell also continued to labour on his farm into his old age. It does, however, reveal the importance to the Motherwells of assimilating aspects of the lifestyle of the leisured classes in the parent societies of Eastern Canada and England. By virtue of not being employed and of being largely free of housework, Catherine Motherwell could evoke the image of a leisured matriarch, even if this image was not really accurate.

V. ABERNETHY'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Writers of western Canadian history have been slow to analyze rural prairie social structure in vertical or hierarchical terms. Seymour M. Lipset, in his study of the C.C.F. in Saskatchewan, has stressed what he saw as the "classless" nature of that province's rural population.[1] In Lipset's view the scattered distribution of the population, dependence on the wheat staple and other factors have made Saskatchewan farmers less differentiated economically than the population in most other rural areas. While recognizing gradations in income and property among farmers, Lipset believed that these differences "exist mainly *between* areas rather than within individual rural communities."[2] Within each district, differences were minimal. Similarly, in *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, C.B. Macpherson showed an awareness of variations in income and capital among farmers, but stressed that these differences were not so great as to create a clear demarcation of economic interest within this group.[3] Neither Lipset nor Macpherson gave much attention to socio-economic groups other than the broad class of farm owners/proprietors. To an extent their analyses reflected an emphasis on sociological realities in the middle decades of the 20th century, including the accelerating disappearance of hired labour on prairie farms.

Before the First World War, prairie society, particularly in the older areas of Anglo-Canadian settlement such as Abernethy, exhibited features of a more stratified social structure. As of 1984 the most comprehensive historical analysis of Canadian social structure in the 19th century was the study of social organization in eastern North American cities, including Hamilton, Ontario, by Michael Katz, Michael Doucet, and Mark Stern.[4] Katz and colleagues put forward a two-class model, which assumes that in a capitalist society, most people share common relationships to one or both of its two central aspects: the private ownership of capital and the sale of one's labour as a commodity. Most people who do not own capital

sell their labour and those who own capital are purchasers of labour. The problem in analyzing Abernethy's social structure is to determine to what degree this model applies to independent commodity producers in rural areas of the same period.

It would first be useful to define the term class. Most theories of class have identified common properties of a group that must exist if its members are to be considered to belong to a class. These include a vertical ordering of people, an element of permanence in the class's interests, a shared sense of class identity, and a relative degree of separation of individuals from different classes. In a behavioural sense this last criterion implies minimal personal contacts between classes and little crossover in terms of one's class membership.[5]

An examination of socio-economic relations at Abernethy in the late 19th and early 20th centuries shows some degree of conformity to the standard definitions of class. Farm-owners persisted as a socio-economic group during the first 40 years after settlement. They showed a collective awareness of their class position in the context of agrarian protest movements after 1900. Abernethy's society was vertically ordered, stratified not only between socio-economic groups, (farm proprietors and labourers), but within the farm proprietor group itself. The model is tempered somewhat in terms of the separation of and interaction with other social groupings. Farmers and labourers often did work together in the fields, and there was some social mobility for labourers into the proprietor group.

What must be recognized is that Abernethy, like all other prairie farm communities, was in a transitional stage in the settlement era. A substantial degree of mobility existed among homesteaders. By 1920 a trend toward consolidation of homesteads into larger farms was already well under way, as many early settlers sold out or went bankrupt. Despite this instability in their situation Abernethy farmers overall showed some continuity by maintaining their individual ownership of land. This group of farm proprietors may reasonably be termed a class, albeit a transitional one. On the other hand, farm labourers did not conform to the usual definitions of class. They were too geographically dispersed and their working situation too transient to permit them to form organizations or to act in common in their own interests. Moreover, many farm labourers did not view their situations as permanent, but as a prelude to becoming farm owners themselves.

It would be shortsighted to treat Abernethy's social structure as a self-contained unit, without reference to outside influences. The lives of local farmers were heavily affected by a business class, but this class

consisted of corporate transportation, financial and manufacturing interests based in Winnipeg and central Canada. Abernethy's economy, like that of other prairie farm communities, was inextricably integrated into the Canadian commercial framework on which farmers relied to purchase and ship their grain, manufacture farm implements, and finance their land or equipment purchases. Farmers tended to identify themselves as independent entrepreneurs operating within a free enterprise economy. As Harold Innis and Vernon Fowke have shown, unrestricted competition between producers in a price system they were powerless to control could only erode their socio-economic structures in the long run.[6]

Major Socio-Economic Groupings

Abernethy's population before 1914 was essentially divided between a broad class of independent farm proprietors and a more transient group of wage labourers. A similar dichotomy existed between the propertied group and the propertyless. In modern capitalist societies ownership of property, both capital and land, has been a major determinant of social and economic position. Property presents options to the holder that are denied to the propertyless. As noted in Chapter III, Abernethy farmers were able to use their ownership of land equities for various economic purposes. Property ownership also granted the holder access to social and political power in the community.

Within the dominant class of independent farming proprietors, there existed considerable economic differences. The comparison of farm sizes indicates progressive differences between farmers in their holdings throughout the first 35 years after initial settlement. In terms of capital accumulation, a study of the Abernethy district done in the early 1930s[7] shows that the upper 15 percent of the groups of farm owners possessed 30 percent of farm wealth; the lower 30 percent possessed only 18 percent of the wealth. Farmers in the highest category with farms of 676 acres or more recorded an average net worth of $37 580 per person. The lowest third of farmers, with 300 acres or less, had an average net worth of only $7579. Hence, the ratio of capital between the highest and lowest levels was five to one.[8] What was striking was the extent to which the gap had widened since those in the Indian Head-Balcarres sample had started on their farms. Owners in the lowest category had begun farming with a net worth of $7782. Twenty years later their average net worth was $7579, a loss of $203. The wealthiest group of farmers started with an average of

$17 930. Twenty years later, their net worth had increased by almost $20 000 to $37 580.[9]

Abernethy society was further differentiated by distinctions between land owners, part-owners, and tenants. In 1933, only 60 of 122 or slightly fewer than half the farms in the Indian Head-Balcarres study area, were owner-operated. Part-owners operated 14 farms, or 11 percent of the total, and 48, or 40 percent of the farms, were operated by tenants. Owners and part-owners were in a demonstrably superior position to tenants *vis-à-vis* their net worth. In 1933, farm owners possessed total assets of $24 723 on the average and about $16 000 after deduction of liabilities. Part-owners possessed assets of $23 607 per person and $14 000 each after deducting liabilities. Tenant farmers had average assets of only $2800 and an average net worth of $1134.[10]

Significantly, the emergence of a large proportion of tenant farmers pointed to the formation of a new *rentier* component within the farm proprietor class. Evidence for the *rentier* thesis exists in the fact that W.R. Motherwell, and others of his socio-economic stratum, indulged in land speculation outside their home district. By 1906 Motherwell had purchased sections of farmland in the newer areas of settlement near Markinch, Loon Lake, and Davidson, Saskatchewan.[11] In 1909 he again speculated in improved land in the Outlook district.[12]

It would appear that the general trend towards farm tenancy had begun much earlier than the 1930s. The 1926 tax assessment roll for the Rural Municipality of Abernethy indicates a high proportion of absentee landlords, comparable to the 1933 figures.[13] Tax rolls for the pre-First World War era have not survived, but demographic trends in this period are suggestive. In the years 1901-06, during which the village of Abernethy was founded, the townships adjacent to and south of the village were significantly depopulated.[14] Many of the new residents of the village were farmers from the surrounding district. It is probable that many of these farmers began to rent out their lands when they moved into town. As the authors of the Farm Indebtedness study noted, the high tenancy rates in the Indian Head-Balcarres areas partly reflected the high value of the farmlands in these districts, and partly stemmed from "the desire of the original owners to retain possession of their farms which have been generally decidedly remunerative."[15] A large proportion of Abernethy's population, therefore, lived to some degree off the economic rents that accrued from their ownership of property.

At the opposite end of the economic spectrum was the non-propertied group. In the period before 1914 a fairly large proportion of Abernethy's population consisted of female domestics as well as hired hands. They

both occupied social positions even lower than that of the tenant farmers. Where farm tenants at least had access to the use of property, hired men and women could sell only their labour. Some insight into the insecurity of the non-propertied classes in the 19th and early 20th centuries was provided by a contemporary observer:

> *A propertyless person is one without any economic reserve power. He is in no position to ward off the sufferings which must frequently come to most persons depending wholly upon their ability to labor and upon the demand of the community for their services ....*[16]

In periods of labour shortages, which were frequent, farm hands could command fairly high wages. Their position was, however, dependent upon market conditions beyond their control. When the prices of wheat dropped, as in 1913, farm wages accordingly went down.[17] Since they worked for wheat farmers whose incomes were erratic, the hired men often experienced considerable difficulty in collecting their wages.[18] Hired men could also be dismissed summarily with little recourse. Sometimes farmers would start a quarrel with their employees or make life difficult enough for them that they would leave without collecting their wages.[19] This is not to suggest that most farmers treated their employees unfairly, but these practices underlined the hired hand's lack of status or power in society.[20]

Status and Leadership

Property relations, while central to the Abernethy social structure, were not the sole determinants of position in the community. Since Max Weber, sociologists and anthropologists have often emphasized the role of status in conferring social position.[21] In rural societies, where economic differentiation is less pronounced than in cities, community prestige may assume a special importance. This is particularly the case, given the predominance of primary group relationships, that is "intimate face-to-face association," in rural areas[22] and the resulting "short status ladder."

A context for interpreting social status in pre-First World War Abernethy may be derived from John Bennett's *Northern Plainsmen* ....[23] This book comprised an anthropological analysis of farmers near Maple Creek, Saskatchewan in the 1960s. While relating to a much later period than the Abernethy study the Maple Creek population showed some traces of

earlier social constructs. Bennett identified six distinct status-giving criteria in Maple Creek farm society: "social credit," ethnic prestige, occupational prestige, settlement prestige, hardship prestige and economic and political power.

Bennett used the category "social credit" to denote one's status as "a good human being, manager, homemaker." He viewed this criterion as the most important of the six. By "ethnic prestige," he meant the status that accrued to one's belonging to a preferred ethnic group, Anglo-Saxon. "Occupational prestige" was an important factor in the Maple Creek social structure, since two large occupational categories, ranching and farming, co-existed, and ranching generally carried more prestige than farming. Farmers who emigrated early into the district qualified for "settlement prestige," or status based on the date of one's arrival. In the 1960s, when Bennett compiled his data, he concluded that this factor was of minimal influence. "Hardship prestige" was to a large extent analogous to "settlement prestige," but reflected the hardships experienced by farmers during the drought and depression of the 1930s. "Economic and political power" accrued to those farmers who were wealthy or possessed connections with the provincial government.[24]

At the turn of the century, economic power was one of the central criteria in determining one's status in the prairie Anglo-Canadian communities. In a society of self-made men, one's accumulated wealth was a testament to one's initiative, business acumen, and managerial skills. In the novel, *Fruits of the Earth*, Frederick Philip Grove charted an Ontarian settler's progress to material prosperity and status. While fictional, Grove's account was based on his own observations and experiences as a farmhand in Manitoba before the turn of the century. He wrote of his protagonist, Abe Spalding:

> *Abe's prestige had grown enormously. He owned the biggest holding not only in the ward but in the municipality. He paid the highest taxes ....*[25]

Like Abe Spalding, Abernethy's most prosperous farmers enhanced their prestige as they augmented their capital. Possessing six quarter-sections by 1906,[26] W.R. Motherwell was one of the largest land owners in the Abernethy district. Among the positions he held in the 1890s were the chairmanship of the local school board, elder in the Presbyterian Church and Justice of the Peace.[27] Prosperity also freed farmers to participate in community service. By 1901, when Motherwell instigated the Territorial

Grain Growers' Association, he employed at least two full-time hired men.[28]

Conversely, subsequent settlement groups were often constrained by their often marginal economic position from achieving a significant degree of status. As a result of their late start, some of the settlements tended to be in a relatively primitive state of development at the turn of the century. At Neudorf and other Eastern European settlements in the District of Assiniboia, farmers were preoccupied with the basic problems of subsistence — feeding and clothing their families, while gradually expanding their holdings. As noted earlier, land clearing in the Neudorf district was not carried out on a significant scale until the settlers were able to afford access to sophisticated clearing technology in the 1920s. While property qualifications for candidate in North-West Territorial elections were removed in 1888, a $100 deposit was still required. Few settlers in the recently settled districts, even if backed by their neighbours, could afford to risk such capital on a candidacy. Since so much productive effort was consumed in the process of eking out an existence, manifestly little surplus was left to be devoted to politics.

Abernethy residents were also differentiated by occupational status in the settlement era. Michael Katz has identified the great gulf in status between the entrepreneurial and labouring sectors in 19th-century Ontario.[29] Abernethy and other rural prairie communities had only two significant occupational categories. The dominant group of independent farm proprietors was guaranteed a degree of status inaccessible to the wage labourers. In fact the farmer's occupational status was derived to some degree at the labourer's expense. One Anglo-Saxon prairie farmer portrayed the independent farmer as a responsible entrepreneur just as he regarded the hired man as irresponsible.

> *I resent the idea that there is a parallel between the man who shirks his task and the farmer who finds that he cannot raise an abundant crop. The farmer did not put in his crop for some other man; it was his own crop and it was his own failure if he did not reap the harvest he expected. He did not accept any man's wages for which he was expected to raise a full crop and then only try to raise half a crop.*[30]

In a similar vein, a contemporary farm labourer noted that his employer, a "small-time" farmer, derived a personal sense of superiority by virtue of having a hired man. " ... he knows damn well that he has a hired hand, and he's proud that he can afford one now."[31] Despite the economic

deprivation of many farmers in the period, the fact of employing staff served to reinforce their self-image as independent entrepreneurs.

Ethnicity was also an important prerequisite to status in Abernethy's settlement era. Throughout the first 40 years, Abernethy was an almost monolithically Protestant Anglo-Saxon community. In 1901, 84 percent of Abernethy's population belonged to one of the Protestant churches — Presbyterian, Anglican, Methodist or Baptist, with Presbyterians predominating. Ninety-two percent of the people were of English, Irish or Scottish descent, including the dominant Ontario-born group.[32] Most non-Anglo-Saxons in the district were Ukrainian and Russian-German seasonal labourers from the newer settlements such as Ituna and Neudorf.[33] Few of these purchased farmland near Abernethy.[34]

Non-Anglo-Saxons had little access to status and leadership roles in rural Saskatchewan society. The prairie Anglo-Canadians were wary of Eastern European cultures and feared that the aliens were not capable of being assimilated. In his study of ethnic groups in Alberta, Howard Palmer has observed that between 1880 and 1920 most Albertan leaders of opinion voiced doubts that the European peasant settlers would conform to Anglo-Canadian political institutions because of their lack of experience with representative government.[35] In the Qu'Appelle district of the North-West Territories similar sentiments prevailed. In 1899 the *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, published at Indian Head, approvingly quoted one Father Morin's comments about the alien immigrants. Among other things, Morin stated that the Galicians were "from the point of view of civilization, ten times lower than the Indians ...."[36] Whatever this comment reveals about the status of native people in the period, it is also indicative of the way in which the Eastern Europeans were received by the dominant central Canadian group.

Status also accrued to men and women who were respected for their human qualities. In this respect Bennett's criterion of "social credit" seems particularly applicable. As a family the Motherwells were held in high esteem not only for their formal involvements but for the personal assistance they provided to others of the community. A reading of W.R. Motherwell's ministerial correspondence indicates that he gave local farmers advice on all aspects of prairie agriculture, including field crop techniques, the planting of shelter belts, and even appraisals of land values.[37] Even those actions of Motherwell's which appear to us to be paternalistic were often received warmly as expressions of his personal interest in community affairs. As the prime mover behind the building of a "temperance hotel" in Abernethy, Motherwell received accolades even from political foes. In 1908 Conservative Senator George Perley praised

Motherwell "on questions of morality and the practical manner in which he demonstrated his faith in ultimate success of the temperance cause."[38]

Catherine, Motherwell's second wife, also achieved considerable status through her community involvement. Before her marriage, Mrs. Motherwell had achieved recognition as a teacher and Presbyterian missionary among the File Hills Indians north of Abernethy.[39] After her marriage she continued to give Indian women on the reserves advice on homemaking questions.[40] Mrs. Motherwell also spoke frequently on a variety of women's issues at meetings throughout the province. At the Regina founding convention of Saskatchewan Homemakers in 1911, alongside such luminaries as Lillian Beynon and Nellie McClung, Mrs. Motherwell gave a lecture on "domestic book-keeping."[41] In 1915, she spoke on the woman's franchise before the Equal Rights League at Lemberg, Saskatchewan.[42]

In the Abernethy area, Mrs. Motherwell was a leading member of the Women's Missionary Society of Knox Presbyterian Church. A view of the Regina chapter of this society is shown in Figure 24. After 1916, she assumed a prominent role in the local Women's Grain Growers' Association. Further evidence of the stature of the Motherwell family in the community emerged over the issue of church union. In 1920 the Abernethy Presbyterian congregation was deeply divided on the question. The church appointed Mrs. Motherwell and Englehart Stueck as a committee of two to study the issue and make recommendations.[43] They recommended that the church participate in the union, and the congregation supported this recommendation.

American settlement historian Allan Bogue has postulated that since newly settled areas on the frontier lacked an existing political structure, aspiring leaders jockeyed for power in this early period.

> *... In a period when groups are being formed, competition exists among potential leaders to a considerable extent, creating a situation which is much more unstable, than is ultimately the case when the group has shaken down and the members have come to know the virtues and deficiencies of their fellow more thoroughly. An important function of the leaders is to regulate the membership of the group.*[44]

Bogue provides an interesting model for interpreting the establishment of social structures in Abernethy's formative period. Prospective leaders may have spent up to two decades establishing their respective claims to position and status in the community. Leadership was

Fig. 24. Presbyterian Women's Missionary Society delegates at Whitewood, Saskatchewan, ca. 1907-08. The middle-class composition of this and other women's missionary groups and their emphasis on conspicuous consumption is suggested by the members dress, and particularly, their hats. (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, R-A7394-1).

initially comparatively fluid. For example, of the first four justices of the peace to be appointed in the Abernethy District (at Pheasant Forks to the northeast and Kenlis to the south), at least three had disappeared as landowners by 1906.[45] Obviously a settler needed to establish himself economically and occupationally before laying claim to long-term influence in the community.

Those early settlers who did persist were in the best position to assume leading positions in Abernethy society. For the decade before the First World War, an analysis of the officers of local organizations, including the local improvement district, various school boards, church groups and the Abernethy Agricultural Society shows the dominance of farmers who had arrived in the 1880s. The same names recur in different contexts, for example, the Motherwells, the Chipperfields, and the Morrisons. Wives of prominent farmers also tended to belong to the principal women's organizations and to wield considerable influence in these

groups, that is women's missionary societies, the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Abernethy chapter of the Women Grain Growers Association.[46] If one examines the movers of key motions in various groups, the influence of a few key families, particularly the Motherwells, is readily apparent.

VI. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Apart from socio-economic structure, social relationships provide important insights into the character of a community. A measure of the community's openness and democracy is the extent to which persons from different socio-economic strata interact with one another. Generally speaking, it is assumed that informality in social relationships suggests a degree of egalitarianism. A tendency towards formality and exclusiveness in social interaction, on the other hand, indicates a stratified or elitist orientation. These are the criteria applied to the study of social relationships in Abernethy before the First World War.

Social Interaction in the Early Settlement Period

Abernethy's population in the early settlement period consisted principally of unmarried settlers. In the first few years on their homesteads the bachelors evidently experienced great loneliness. By moving west they had cut themselves off from the network of social relationships that had sustained them in their places of origin.[1] Not only did many lack romantic relationships, for women were in short supply, but they were also separated from neighbours by miles of treeless prairie. Winter months were described as particularly monotonous, as settlers found themselves surrounded by barren wastes of snow and frequently confined to their tiny shacks by blizzards. Furthermore, winter work was often solitary. Settlers had not yet developed their homesteads into farms, and they spent much of the winter cutting wood alone in the bush. Walter Elkington's account of his first weeks on his homestead illustrates the solitude of the new settlers:

> *The first night in the place was very cold, for winter had not yet passed, and in the morning I found a piece of plaster had fallen*

> *out of the wall just above my head, letting in more fresh air than was necessary. For the next few days the weather was very severe, and I frequently had to leave the house and go into the snug little stable, where the horses were, to keep myself warm. All this time I seldom saw a soul, and having very little to read, found it very lonely ....*[2]

In their personal accounts of the settlement experience bachelors almost invariably reported that they lived in less than ideal conditions. One Manitoba settler wrote, "The bachelor lives on pork and bannocks, as a rule, never sweeps his house out, or very seldom; generally hoes the floor once a month."[3] Another settler from Hayfield, Assiniboia reported that of all the tasks in the daily regimen, washing up was the worst for the bachelors. Hence, "... things are always used as often as possible, and then piled up until everything is dirty, when a big washing takes place."[4] The decline in diet and domestic order was perhaps inevitable given the long hours of farm work on the homestead and the comparative inexperience of many young settlers in housekeeping. A correspondent to a contemporary Anglican journal in the District of Assiniboia asked: "Is it to be wondered at that very soon the refined and even cleanly habits of home are forgotten and with them I fear often religion is forgotten too ...."[5]

In these circumstances it was not surprising that settlers attached great importance to the re-establishment of human contact on the frontier. Since neighbours were few and scattered, they tended to welcome any new addition to the community and could not afford to be too selective in their social relationships. In *Fruits of the Earth*, a fictionalized account of an Ontarian prairie settler, Frederick Grove presents Abe Spalding, in an initially isolated situation. Despite his ethnocentrism, Abe is pleased to receive a Ukrainian neighbour. He also states, "I'd like to have men of my own colour about. But rather than stay alone, let niggers and Chinamen come."[6]

For needed companionship and economic assistance bachelor settlers often lived together. They encountered the same problems of adjustment that people always experience when living with others. Inevitably a certain laxity in meeting domestic responsibilities set in. Ferdinand David, an English settler at Ellisboro (15 miles to the southeast of Abernethy), wrote in his diary entry for 1 January 1894 that he and his room-mate resolved to turn over a new leaf:

> *... Tim and I made New Year's resolutions vis. — We keep our diggings clean and in order. I do the housework. Tim does the chores. We have kept these resolutions splendidly today and are therefore feeling very self-satisfied. How long will it stay thus? Don't ask.*[7]

In other cases the settler's roommate in the small shanty was his hired man. In this situation of informal accommodations and limited human contact, ties between farmer and employee were often close and fairly unstructured. A Manitoba settler in the early 1880s has related that he and his hired man worked together in all farm operations including cutting wood in the bush and field work. They also ate together and slept in the same room.[8]

Sometimes neighbouring settlers arrived unexpectedly at dinner time. Abernethy pioneers recalled that invariably the uninvited guests were asked to stay for supper. Walter Elkington wrote that one Sunday bachelors from a nearby ranch showed up at his door carrying a few eggs. The impromptu arrivals proceeded to make some special "slap-jacks."[9] In the period before 1904, when Abernethy settlers hauled their wheat to the CPR line 20 to 30 miles to the south, they were often obliged to stop at farmsteads along the route for food or a night's accommodation. According to oral history sources they were never refused.

To alleviate the pain of isolation settlers tended to socialize as often as possible. Sometimes they congregated at another bachelor's shack for a game of cards or simple conversation and tea. Social intercourse was relatively informal in this early period, even for married families. In the winter, surprise parties were a frequent occurrence. Within a radius of 15 miles people travelled by sleigh to their friends' homes, announced a party, and stayed the night. Despite frostbitten fingers and toes that resulted from these trips, an Abernethy pioneer woman has related that "it was worth it, there was so little fun or entertainment."[10] Games at these parties included "charades," "upset the fruit basket," and "musical chairs."[11]

Indeed, settlers seized on almost any pretext to participate in social activity. A weekly ritual in one settlement was to congregate on Friday evenings at the post office.[12] The collection of one's mail provided an opportunity for human interaction. Even funerals provided an outing and were thus well attended. An English settler was somewhat perplexed, at a country funeral near Fort Qu'Appelle, when he witnessed the spectacle of mourners dressed in their gaudiest clothes, forming a procession of grain wagons to the cemetery.[13]

The first priority for most bachelors, however, was to find a wife to provide companionship and essential domestic support. As the Manitoba settler stated:

> *... my advice to the settler is marry. Every girl is pounced on directly she puts her face inside the settlement. Young fellows get so sick of the monotony of baching. I hope to get Frank out, after a year or two, to help me, or marry — some young lady well versed in scrubbing, washing, baling, dairying, get up at 3:30 in summer, 5:30 in winter; strong nerves, strong constitution, obedient, and with money. Where can I find this paragon?*[14]

Numerous sources confirm that fierce competition ensued among the overwhelmingly male population for the few women who did enter the various settlements. Usually the most eligible young women were school teachers, who were quickly claimed by one of the settlers.[15] Bachelors' balls became a common fixture of Abernethy life throughout the period. These events permitted bachelors to meet prospective sweethearts in a socially respectable way. In some prairie communities an event that combined community service with social intercourse was the "Box Social." For these dances the young ladies of the settlement prepared boxes containing sandwiches, cakes and pies, which they wrapped with ribbons. The bachelors bid on the boxed prizes, and the proceeds went to a fund for building a new school or church in the community. At the same time, their bids provided them with an introduction to the young woman and a dance.[16]

Other bachelor amusements found less favour in the middle-class farming group that was gradually establishing its dominance in the Qu'Appelle region. These farmers associated "bachelor dens"[17] with a host of evils, including alcohol consumption, card-playing and sexual license. Reading between the lines of contemporary memoirs, one gains the impression that many of the early settlers spent as much time in the town saloons as they did working on their homesteads. Walter Elkington wrote that, along with tea, which was drunk at every meal, whiskey was the most popular drink.[18] On another occasion he wrote that the crowd in Fort Qu'Appelle was "very orderly," as a result of raids carried out, under the prohibition laws, against whiskey smugglers.[19] In her autobiographical memoir, one Saskatchewan woman recalled the experiences of an English "remittance man" east of Round Lake in the Qu'Appelle Valley. Having been established on a "dude" ranch by his father, this young

fellow "kept a lot of hired men, gave stag parties, where beer flowed from 5 gallon kegs ...."[20] Indeed, of 94 cases tried before Mounted Police justices in the Qu'Appelle District in 1882, the first year of settlement, 55 or 60 percent, were for gambling or alcohol-related offences.[21]

The sexual behaviour of bachelors was similarly placed under increasing scrutiny in the early settlement period. James Gray has written of the red light districts in various frontier communities in the Canadian west.[22] A reading of local newspapers confirms that the Qu'Appelle district was not immune to the attractions of prostitution. In 1885 a correspondent from Qu'Appelle wrote the *Vidette*, demanding to know "whose duty it is to rid the town of its present harlot pests?"[23] Complaining that the Mounted Police officers had instructed that the "unfortunate" women were not to be molested as long as they behaved themselves, the indignant writer asked,

> *... are our women folk to continue to be daily shocked by the flaunting of these prostitutes, be it on horseback or on foot? Where are those respectable church going citizens, who are supposed to voice public opinion, that such a living disgrace to our hitherto fair town as a house of ill fame is permitted under their very noses?*[24]

Evidently pioneer men, as well as women, felt threatened by the possible consequences of sexual laxity. It was perceived to threaten the family, and since women were considered to be indispensable to successful settlement, the whole social and economic basis of society. In 1886 another correspondent to the *Vidette* issued a stern warning to an offender:

> *We have here a young bachelor in lower town, and a married "lady" in upper town, who are working everything too much on the free-love plan. Why the husband of the lady don't put a stop to this sort of thing is more than I can tell; but I can assure the young bachelor that he will get a coat of tar and feathers if he don't cease to bestow his attention so openly. If the husband is foolish enough to put up with it, the public are not.*

The letter was signed "DECENCY."[25]

Yet while the bachelor frontier had the appearance of an unstratified, relative egalitarian society, this situation was only transitory. Bachelors were prepared to put up with material and social privations for a few years

while they developed their rough homesteads into farms. Few regarded these circumstances as permanent; rather, they were simply a necessary penance that they experienced while establishing themselves. Similarly, the seemingly unstructured nature of social relationships in the early settlement period did not really signal a permanent democratization in social interaction. Spontaneous interaction was a necessary pragmatic response to pioneer isolation. It also reflected the relative youth of the population. Most settlers wished, however, to find wives to establish familial ties to replace their looser network of frontier relationships.

The Mature Society, 1900-20

As Abernethy evolved from the "pioneering" period into a settled community, social relationships assumed more traditional patterns. By 1900 most of the bachelor homesteaders had married and begun to raise families. These settlers now endeavored to build their own self-sufficient farm communities. In doing so they emphasized the household as the centre of social life. When financial resources permitted they built large Victorian houses that fostered a more dignified, middle-class familial interaction.

A second reason for the establishment of a more traditional lifestyle was that the pioneering process was selective. While remittance men, adventurers and other confirmed bachelors dropped out in the initial period, the persistent, more ambitious — and conservative — settlers remained. Willem de Gelder noted these differences between these two types of settlers he encountered in Morse, Saskatchewan in 1911:

> *You meet them here in the hotel, men of all nationality and ages .... Swells and dandies talking about their homesteads with little cigars in their mouths. I don't think you ever see one of those swells survive a second winter on their homesteads. And next to them, you see others on whose faces you can read, the resolution, ones who are frightened by nothing in this world and are determined. You can read the success on their faces.*[26]

Like Grove's protagonist, Abe Spalding, the latter type of settler was preoccupied with developing his farm and had little time for social life. Moreover, at Abernethy and other settlements in the North-West, the mean age of the population increased in the first decades of settlement. Settlers who were in their early twenties in the 1880s had reached middle

age by 1900. Obviously farmers in this later stage in the life cycle had developed social needs different from the predominantly youthful population of the early period.

In keeping with the new Victorian middle-class order, social activities needed to be purposeful. In 1893 Kenlis residents founded a local Royal Templars of Temperance.[27] It provided the best of all possible activities — a heavy dose of Christianity, a sense of mission, a practical purpose, and, not least, a social outing. Women, too, were not long in forming their own chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.). Young people also were encouraged to join their own Christian organizations. A chapter of the Epworth League of Christian Endeavor was formed by Kenlis residents in 1896.[28]

> *Public lectures also combined the need for human interaction with social utility. In 1897, the* Qu'Appelle Progress *reported that John Allen of nearby Pheasant Forks was to deliver a lecture at the Abernethy school house on the subject "Harmony and Diversity."*[29] *Another lecture had as its title "Leadership Values."*[30] *At nearby Lemberg, members of the local literary society heard a public debate on the topic: "Resolved that professionalism in sport is conducive to its highest interests."*[31]

The middle-class farmers' desire for stability and permanence in social relationships found expression in the formal organizations it created after 1900. Abernethy men founded chapters of the major Anglo-Canadian lodges: Masons,[32] Oddfellows,[33] Canadian Order of Foresters[34] and the Loyal Orange Lodge.[35] A group photo of Oddfellows from the Moosomin Lodge is shown in Figure 25. In the early period, social intercourse on the frontier had been spontaneous. Now regular lodge meetings assisted in institutionalizing and regulating social behaviour. Lodge rituals, steeped in ceremony, assisted the process. The fraternal societies also permitted a degree of exclusiveness in social relations, as men could mix with other men of similar ethnic and socio-economic position. The creation of exclusive organizations sometimes reflected an elitist attempt to emulate social conventions of the parent society. Georgina Binnie-Clark commented on this phenomenon when she wrote of the Fort Qu'Appelle Tennis Club:

> *... [it] has all the distinction of tradition defended by the force of exclusion. At one time, to be known as a member of the club*

> *gave much the same cachet in the district as presentation at Court during the Victorian era. Also, in common with many of the great persons of the Victorian era, face value went for little. None would guess from a glance at the club enclosure with its distinctly primitive pavilion the important part it played in the creation and preservation of a social atmosphere in the little village ....*[36]

Abernethy women also participated in a more formal social interaction after the period of ecomomic consolidation. In the early years homesteaders' wives had been preoccupied with heavy housekeeping duties including cleaning, cooking and raising children. Their social activities were often related to their domestic work, and were fairly unstructured as, for example, in quilting bees.[37] By the 1900s, the pioneering period had passed and women had graduated to a new set of responsibilities. Their involvements in various women's groups were now regulated and goal-oriented by agendas and established meeting times. Refreshments were also pre-arranged, as the hired girl at the Motherwell farm served tea in a sterling silver service to the guests.[38]

Fig. 25. Independent Order of Oddfellows, Moosomin, Saskatchewan, pre-1897. The ceremonial dress was characteristic of Oddfellows lodges in Saskatchewan's settlement era. (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, R-A3301).

Private entertaining among Anglo-Canadian middle-class families took on a more formal character after the passing of the "pioneer era." Where surprise parties had been the norm before, Edith Stilborne of Pheasant Forks remembered that after 1896 "invited parties" became more general.[39] At Lanark Place, as soon as the Motherwells had built a large Victorian "new house," they began to host ceremonious dinner parties. In January 1898 the Qu'Appelle *Vidette* reported that "Elder" W.R. Motherwell had celebrated New Year's Day by having 25 couples to his home for dinner. The dinner was "given in a style and manner which reminded some of us of the more formal gatherings of the Old Country ...."[40]

The most striking evidence of the new middle-class approach to social interaction was in the material culture of the farm community. The early settlers had erected simple utilitarian log or sod houses that often

Fig. 26. Motherwell's stone house before the First World War. Motherwell's daughter Alma poses with a friend at the front gate. Catherine Motherwell stands on the house steps. (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina).

contained only one or two rooms. After a period of economic consolidation, the Ontario-born farmers built handsome stone, brick and frame farm houses that seemed to proclaim their newly-won social status (Fig. 26). Not only did these houses emulate the exterior design of mid-Victorian, Ontario middle-class dwellings; they imitated the interior spatial organization of their Eastern antecedents. The new layouts provided distinctly specialized spaces that accompanied a more stratified conception of proper social intercourse.[41]

To provide comparative material, 13 large stone houses built around 1900 were examined in the districts of Abernethy, Sintaluta, and Arcola in southeastern Saskatchewan. The floor layouts for these houses reveal highly specialized, and compartmentalized, interior spaces. Emphasizing the change in lifestyle that accompanied the move from the one-room or two-room log dwellings, the new houses contained separate rooms for food preparation, family activities, formal entertaining and dining rooms, and most included front halls that provided buffer zones between exterior and interior spaces. Domestic servants could use this space to channel guests into the appropriate room, while preventing unwanted visitors from intruding on the interior living spaces of the family. Eight houses featured rear staircases leading up to the farm labourers' accommodations. In some houses the employees slept in an annex separated from the family's quarters that emphasized the inherent social divisions between employer and employee.

In W.R. Motherwell's house the Victorian formality of Ontarian settlers was taken to an extreme. In addition to the provision of a parlour and dining room for the formal reception of guests, the Motherwell house contained a "lobby" or sitting room for more informal visits and an office for farm accounts. The house was divided into two wings: a front formal section, and a rear service annex (Fig. 27). On the main floor a rear hallway and rounded arch provided a buffer zone between living, business and entertainment functions and the service section. The noise and odours of the kitchen were thus prevented from intruding upon the formal areas. At the same time, Motherwell built a narrow rear staircase to link the employees' quarters with the kitchen. In the daytime a door between the employees' rooms and the family's chambers could be unlocked so that the removal of slop pails and chamber pots could occur unobtrusively. At night this door was locked. Conversely, the front stair permitted "dramatic descent to meet family and guests."[42]

The farm employees' quarters were small and spartan. Initially the hired men's room at the Motherwell house, in which two men were crammed together, was a meagre 60 square feet. It possessed no closet and

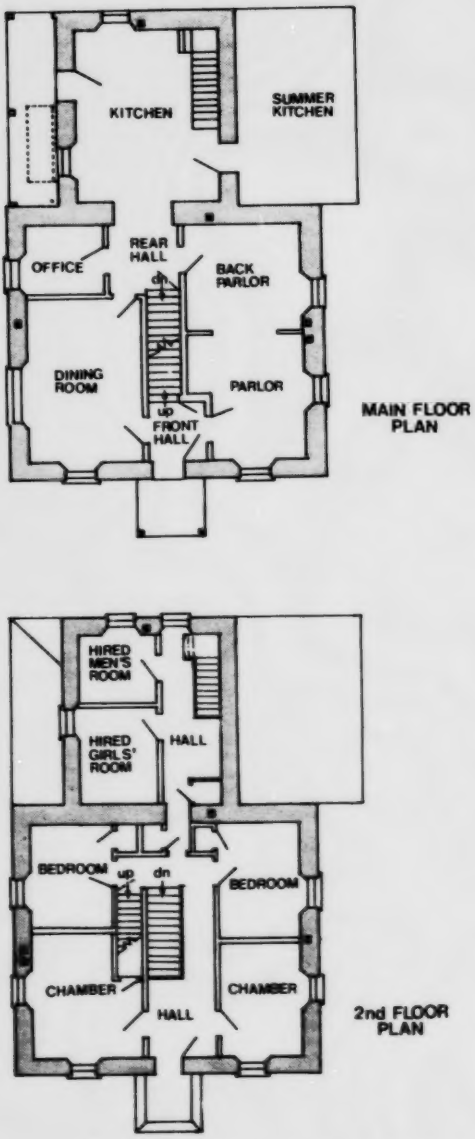


Fig. 27. Motherwell House floor plan (*The Nor'-West Farmer*, 5 May 1900).

was furnished with a single bed, a washstand and a chair. The hired men hung their clothes on a series of hooks outside the room adjacent to the rear staircase. Next to the men's room was the hired girls' room, which, at 80 square feet, was somewhat larger. Its furnishings were similarly utilitarian, consisting of a bed, dresser and chair.[43]

On the other hand the family's "chambers," while not large, provided an average of 113 square feet, including closet space. The largest was the bedroom of W.R. Motherwell and his wife which totalled 150 square feet. What distinguished these rooms principally from those of the employees was the large quantity of material possessions and objects they contained.

If the architectural designs of the Victorian Anglo-Canadians' permanent farm homes provided a notable contrast between the families' and employees' quarters, an even more striking dichotomy existed between these accommodations and the lodgings of seasonal or transient staff. In the log house days, harvest labourers commonly slept and ate in the settler's kitchen, but after the building of the new houses, they were rarely invited inside. Instead they had their meals outside, and slept in tiny shacks, called "cabooses," which were crammed with beds. One settler who worked on a harvest gang has described these accommodations as

> *... about three-quarters the size of a bath house, lined with 8 bunks each capable of holding 2 men. Everybody softened his bunk with some hay or straw, but it was hard and stayed that way. These were rather strange surroundings for me; in the middle of so many rough harvest hands in the caboose you could find every kind of person ....*[44]

As the building of large Victorian homes signalled the establishment of a new middle-class hegemony, pioneer hospitality waned or disappeared. It was perhaps somewhat ironic that as soon as Abernethy residents had begun to inhabit much larger homes in which others could be more easily accommodated, they showed a reluctance to share their living spaces. In 1907, a correspondent to the Abernethy *Abernethan* complained that women teachers were unhappy with their rooms in the local King Edward Hotel but had been unable to secure alternative accommodation. Due to the unavailability of suitable lodging, the school had to be closed before the end of the school year. In the writer's words,

> *... while it speaks volumes for Abernethy that in these hard times, the people of our village are one and all too wealthy and aristo-*

cratic to take in a boarder of the social standing of a teacher, yet it is a fact to be deplored.[45]

Contemporary western Canadian fiction also linked the building of extravagant prairie houses to a loss in human interaction. Both F.P. Grove and Nellie McClung depicted Ontarian settlers' permanent houses as representative of economic prosperity, but nonetheless symbolic of spiritual emptiness. In *Sowing Seeds in Danny*, McClung described the house of a fictional family called, appropriately enough, the Motherwells. It is not intended to make too much of this coincidence of names, but McClung's Motherwells live in a large stone house, "square" and "gray, lonely and bare."[46] In Grove's *Fruits of the Earth*, Abe Spalding also builds a palatial house, but discovers that the house only accentuates the estrangement of the family members living within it.[47]

Accompanying the formal Victorian lay-outs of the Ontarian settlers' "new houses" was a formalization of relations between farmers and their employees. In her study of domestic servants in Canada between 1880 and 1920, Geneviève Leslie has noted that household employees occupied positions of low status.[48] She quotes from the contemporary book on *Domestic Engineering*, that domestic servants formed "the class that Society has relegated to the lowest place of human beings claiming respectability. Housework and houseworkers are classified at the very bottom of industrial occupations ...."[49] Like their urban counterparts, rural domestics had experienced a reduction in status in the context of Canadian industrialization. Leslie argues that since rural domestics often shared work with their mistresses, particularly in the busy season, they were often in a comparatively better position socially than urban servants. Yet "hired girls" on farms were generally paid low wages, worked long hours, and experienced great isolation.[50]

At Lanark Place the Motherwells often recruited hired girls from the nearby German-speaking settlement of Neudorf or Indian girls from the File Hills reserves north of Abernethy. These women tended to be quite young, in the 18-20 age bracket.[51] They were paid comparatively low wages; one former hired girl remembered having been paid $5 a month in the 1930s.[52] At least one of the Motherwell's former hired girls remembered her life at the farm as a very lonely time. She was not included in family activities.[53] Another recalled that for social interaction she usually went over to the hired men's cottage to visit with Motherwell's hired man and his wife.[54] Most of the hired girls stayed only a few months, although one women, "Lizzie" Lutz, lasted two years on the job. Generally speak-

ing they could be classed as transient labourers — young women who had no opportunities other than to work in domestic service, prior to marriage. Their transient status is confirmed by the fact that these women seldom appear in the more than 300 photographs in the Motherwells' family albums. Moreover the term "hired girl" was itself indicative of the subordinate status of women in this period; male farm labourers were "hired men," but female domestics were "girls."

W.R. Motherwell's views regarding the social place of the hired men on his farm are well documented in a bulletin issued under his direction as Saskatchewan Minister of Agriculture in 1915. Entitled *Practical Pointers for Farm Hands*, the bulletin provided no fewer than 200 recommendations for persons contemplating seeking work as hired men.[55] The Foreword to this document explained the Department's purpose in publishing it:

> *At this time a great many men, for one reason or another, are taking up farm work who perhaps, have had no previous experience of it and never expected to be engaged in it. The more such men know about their work the better they will like it, and the sooner they acquire the knowledge. The more pleasant it will be both for them and their employers.*

The Foreword also states that most of the bulletin's contents were prepared by E.A. Blakesley and "are the fruit of twenty years' experience and observation." To the extent that they were followed, the pointers would "make for a better understanding between employers and employees on our farms, and help to solve what is apt to be one of the most vexatious problems on the farm — the labour question."

The tone in which the 200 "pointers" are delivered is paternalistic; they are written as orders rather than suggestions. Little is left to the imagination or intelligence of the reader, as even apparently trivial matters warrant a stern admonition from the writer. The paternalistic tone is evident from the following excerpts:

> *133. Be a leak-watcher. Don't waste the hay. Don't waste the grain. Don't lose things. Don't cause accidents. Prevent breakages by keeping things well inspected. Keep things greased and oiled and mended.*
> *168. Get up in the morning when you are called. It is only a habit to be called twice. Good riddance to a man who has to be called more than once. It is childish.*[56]

With respect to proper social conventions the booklet recommended that hired hands be appropriately deferential to all members of their employers' families. In addition to the required obedience to the farm proprietor, hired men were instructed to be polite and not to "call the grown daughters by the first name at first sight ... It is the mark of a gentleman to call the eldest daughter Miss Susan and Miss Maud until they request you to drop such formalities and be more like one of the family." Above all, the hand was never to call the farmer's wife by her first name, "no matter how young and pretty she is ... If she likes to have you call her by her name, so much the more you should refrain. She needs a little training herself."

Quite apart from the assumptions implicit in these statements, the booklet offered guidance to farm hands regarding proper deportment and conduct on the farm. Hired men were instructed not to lie, to be "decent" and "neat."

> *The man who bathes regularly, cleans his teeth, grooms his nails, keeps his shirt buttoned, hangs up his clothings, stacks up his books and papers, cleans his boots in muddy weather, etc., etc., is one of the men the women folk will want to keep when the extra men are dismissed.*[57]

While the *Practical Pointers for Farm Hands* was evidently a definitive statement on relations between employers and hired hands, it should be recognized that actual relationships depended on the personalities of individual farmers and hired men. In keeping with the tone and advice of the handbook, Motherwell's approach was patriarchal and somewhat authoritarian. He insisted — on pain of dismissal — that his farm hands eat with the family on most occasions.[58] As noted earlier, all persons including the farm hands, were expected to participate in the religious service following each evening meal and to contribute to the cent-a-meal fund. Moreover, if found smoking near the barn, employees were fired immediately. Three former hired men at Lanark Place remember W.R. Motherwell fondly. Given that oral history informants are typically reluctant to speak ill of other people, it is apparent that Motherwell treated his staff fairly and was evidently concerned about their welfare. At the same time his paternalistic approach signified a marked change in Abernethy's social relationships from the informality of the early pioneering era to the hierarchy of the settled agricultural community.

Co-operative Enterprise

In the first few years of settlement Abernethy farmers relied heavily on the co-operation and assistance of their neighbours. Homesteaders often lived together and shared the ownership of implements. They helped each other build shanties, barns, and fences. They also provided extra labour for harvest and other farming operations. It is important to realize, however, that these instances of mutual assistance were not really "co-operative" in the sense that they represented a communal effort from which rewards would be mutually shared. Pioneer co-operation was a pragmatic response to a situation of scarce resources.

A series of questionnaires drafted by the Saskatchewan Archives Board and filled out by the settlers in numerous districts of the province in 1955, provides an indication of the kinds of co-operative activity existing in the settlement period. Questionnaires suggest that the initial period of co-operation was of comparatively short duration and was largely limited to the process of farm-making. George Hartwell, who settled at Pheasant Forks in 1882, recalled that farmers helped each other in building, haying, and harvesting "bees" until 1886.[59] Another account places the end of the "pioneer era" at about 1896.[60] This is not to suggest that the tradition of co-operation evaporated completely after the early period of economic consolidation. W.R. Motherwell's large barn was built in a one-day "raising bee" in 1907.[61] By this time, however, such events were comparatively infrequent.

In addition to pooled labour, farmers also participated in co-operative ownership of implements. The example of John Teece, who started farming with a one-fourth interest in a yoke of oxen, plough, and wagon and graduated to shared ownership of other implements, has been noted. James M. Minifie has related that at Sintaluta his father and seven other homesteaders shared ownership of two of the most expensive implements — a seeder and a binder.[62] The group drew lots to determine the order of access to the implements. Minifie states that this arrangement was unsatisfactory since "the man at the foot of the list could not sow at the critical time when optimum conditions of land and weather prevailed, nor could he harvest the crop at peak." After the first year the co-operative plan was dropped, and "each man equipped himself as well as his funds, the bank and the implement companies would allow."[63]

Due to the great expense of threshing machines, co-operative ownership of these larger implements was relatively common. In 1891, Abernethy-area farmers formed a joint stock company to purchase, manage and operate a steam engine, separator, and appurtenances.[64] Capital stock of

$2000 was issued in 40 equal shares of $50. Problems emerged in 1901 when a shareholder, John Teese, complained of too much grain being thrown out of the separator into the stack. He refused to settle his account with the company and sued for damages.[65] The case underlined the rather fragile basis for co-operation in a society in which an individualistic and competitive outlook prevailed.

Land relations between farmers also demonstrate the myth of a communal pioneer spirit. Co-operation stopped at the farmer's fence. Under the Herd and Estray Animals Ordinances,[66] farmers were entitled to arrange for the impounding of roaming livestock found grazing on their property. The animals would be kept impounded until their owner had settled for damages with the proprietor of the violated pasture. In a light-hearted vein the *Abernethan* admonished a "certain exalted personage" for having turned out his herd of swine "to fatten at his neighbours' expense."[67] In an obvious reference to W.R. Motherwell, the editorial continued:

> *To allow one's pigs to soot up one's lawns and arboretums may in a year like this be a very praiseworthy act of economy, but to turn them out as a practical test of the soundness of one's neighbours' graneries [sic] and stooks is what even the scientific mind of a Minister of Agriculture in his thoughtful moments would depreciate [sic].*[68]

In her autobiographical account of Anglo-Canadian life on the prairies, Nellie McClung has succinctly placed "pioneer co-operation" in its proper perspective.

> *The farmers in these days [in 1895] were rugged individualists. They changed work whenever necessary but each kept his affairs to himself quite jealously.*[69]

In support of this statement, McClung related the outcome of a community "beef-ring," which was the first formal co-operative undertaking in the community. Every week, under the terms of the ring, an animal was butchered and the meat distributed to the participating members. Butchering was performed by different farmers in sequence, and each distribution was weighed so that eventually all farmers received equal amounts of the meat. According to McClung, the "beef-ring" worked well initially, "but with the coming of better crops and prices the farmers began to

realize that they were foolish to bother with their own meat when they could buy it at the butcher shops ...."[70]

Thus the beef-ring concept, like the other co-operative plans among farmers, dissipated with the arrival of economic prosperity and greater independence. Co-operation, in the sense of a mutual activity directed at producing rewards to be mutually shared, was not really practised at Abernethy. In their family, work and leisure activities, Abernethy farmers pursued relationships within an individualistic, middle-class context.

VII. ABERNETHY'S SOCIAL CREED

... It is a society of men united together for the attainment of a twofold object — moral and social — the moral standing first as out of moral statutes social consequences flow ....[1]

In all societies value systems provide an ideological context which both motivates and justifies social behaviour. Abernethy and other Anglo-Canadian prairie settlements were not exceptions. Having recently established their ascendancy Abernethy's middle-class farmers were anxious to find a set of values that not only defined acceptable social limits, but also presented models against which an individual's performance could be measured. As the above quotation shows, residents of the central Qu'Appelle region were aware of the functional role of "moral statutes" in regulating society. While referring specifically to the Independent Order of Foresters chapter at Indian Head, the description could equally be applied to local churches and other organizations fulfilling similar roles at that time. A comprehensive treatment of the mental world of Abernethy farmers is beyond the scope of this study. What is offered is an analysis of some aspects of their world view that related most closely to their economic and social behaviour. Overt statements by Abernethy farmers or their families that can illuminate their value structure are comparatively sparse. Occasionally they can be found in letters to the editor, articles in period newspapers, minutes of local organizations, personal correspondence or reminiscences. It has sometimes been necessary to reach beyond the boundaries of the actual Abernethy district to use materials relating to other Anglo-Canadian communities in the grain farming regions of the Canadian prairies. Most of these communities were settled by Ontarians who shared similar assumptions about society and how it should operate.

At the centre of the value structure held by Abernethy farmers was a deep-rooted belief in individual enterprise. Allan Smith has shown that

Canadian historians, in emphasizing the collective nature of the Victorian Canadian identity, have overlooked a strong undercurrent of individualism, "the myth of the self-made man."[2] It is arguable that the individualistic ethic was even stronger in a frontier context than in established communities in the East. As Allan Bogue has suggested, the settlement process may have been selective. The frontier attracted a certain breed of settler possessing attributes uncharacteristic of the general population.[3] The point is that the individualistic predisposition of settlers was exaggerated by their perceptions of the role of individual strength, initiative and perseverance in laying claim to and remaining on their homesteads. Obviously luck was also an important component of success. In the mindset of the settlers, however, luck played no role alongside the preeminent individualistic virtues. The settler was the maker of his own destiny.

A second central element to the Abernethy settlers' value structure was its materialistic orientation. That this should be so is not surprising; market societies, in which wealth or prosperity is an important measure of one's status, tend to promote materialistic values. However, the preoccupation with material expansion appears particularly evident in some memoirs and other evidence left by Victorian Anglo-Canadian settlers. In the passage quoted at the beginning of this book, John Teece described his having "made good" solely in terms of material success, that is the acquisition of land, livestock and cash. Other testimonials of the period defined success largely in economic terms.[4]

Another major element of the Abernethy farmers' world view was a belief in the work ethic. In their testimonials settlers such as John Teece never ceased to stress the value of hard work. Allan Smith has shown how in the late 19th century the prevailing conception of success shifted from an emphasis on wealth to work itself. As the eastern provinces became more urbanized and stratified, and hence less upwardly mobile, ideologists of the self-made man were obliged to find a new rationale to keep the working masses happy with their lot. The principles of the Protestant ethic met this requirement; while divesting success of its materialist content, it offered moral virtue as an alternative incentive to hard work.[5] The predominantly agrarian western society was less stratified than the East. Nevertheless, in settled communities upward mobility diminished steadily as land values and the required capital outlay for farming increased. In such a situation of reduced mobility Abernethy settlers, like their eastern counterparts, were obliged to fall back on the work ethic as a means of motivating their employees to greater efforts. Hence in a contemporary booklet for farmhands the author could write:

> *Be honest. Do as much work, and do it well, in the absence of the boss as when he is with you, and in due time you will reap your reward. Many a hired man has been turned into a son-in-law by this one trait alone ... Get a move on you. Act as if you want to get your piece of work done and out of the way. It will help you to enjoy your work and will be a pleasing sight to the boss, the wife, the children and the neighbours.*[6]

Thus without the promise of material rewards, the hired man was exhorted to work hard for work's own sake.

However committed the Anglo-Canadians were to the pursuit of material gain, they sought it less for comforts and luxuries than for the respectability it carried. W.L. Morton has noted that Victorian Canadians had three ideal images:

> *... the gentleman, respectable industrious, well bred and well read; the honest businessman and honest worker; the prosperous farmer. The common element was that of respectability, the possession and evidence of those personal and social traits that were generally commended.*[7]

Respectability also remained a preoccupation with the newly established agrarian middle class at Abernethy. As if to proclaim their arrival in the new society, settlers in the more prosperous farming districts such as Abernethy erected large, elegant Victorian houses. Settlers also appropriated the symbols and rituals of the parent society. At the Motherwell farm, in emulation of the Anglo-Canadian model, tea was served in a sterling silver service after every evening meal. As we have seen, the Motherwells reinforced their respectable position in their public dress, which marked them as a family of prosperity and standing in the community. On Sundays they rode to church in a surrey, or phaeton, and occupied their own pew. Yet, for all the emphasis on the material and the worldly, Abernethy, no less than other Victorian Anglo-Canadian communities, was dominated by a religious creed and accompanying code of morality. Paul Rutherford has described the role of the Christian Church in imposing social authority and regulating moral behaviour in Victorian Canada. Anglo-Canadians believed that the church was a kind of "national cement" that gave cohesion and purpose to society. In the words of one Ontario journalist, "Our improved circumstances — the higher civilization of the present age — the comforts of the present and the prospects of

the future are the results of religious influence, enlarging and developing our better nature, and lifting humanity higher day by day."[8]

Abernethy was not simply a Protestant community; its particular religious tone was predominantly Presbyterian and, to a lesser extent, Methodist. Ernst Troeltsch has shown that both the Calvinist and Methodist creeds required the active participation of individuals in Christianizing the community.[9] In the Calvinist-Presbyterian paradigm, the doctrine of predestination was paramount. On earth, men were divided between the "elect," whom God had chosen to be saved, and the "dammed." In granting election to certain people, God assures forgiveness for their sins. This assurance frees the individual to serve as an agent of Divine Will. Indeed, through their justification, individuals become Christ's warriors to carry out His Purpose in the secular world. The second central element of Calvinism was its emphasis on the inward and individual character of piety. Since the Calvinist believed his election was sure, he did not need to be concerned with self-preservation or with winning salvation; he was free to concentrate on shaping the world according to Christian purpose.[10] The other aspect of Calvinism relevant to this discussion is the concept of the "Holy Community," dedicated to the glorification of God. Calvin did not envisage the church merely as an objective means of salvation, but as a dynamic agent in Christianizing the community. The church's role was to develop institutions through which the Divine Spirit could mould both the secular and the religious spheres, family and social relationships, and even economic life.[11]

Richard Allan has identified the Calvinist inheritance of Presbyterianism as one of the principal supports for the social gospel movement in Western Canada. Where Canadian Calvinism had earlier seen its social role in more defensive terms, that is, in preventing society from disintegrating, late 19th-century Presbyterianism was largely transformed into an evangelical force.[12] On the prairies, a clear statement of evangelical Presbyterianism may be discerned in an 1898 sermon delivered by the Rev. A.T. Murray at an ordination ceremony in Minnedosa, Manitoba. Murray stated:

> *The minister's stand upon all questions of public morals must always be decided, and always against the evil. Abraham was a soldier ready to do battle on the right side. So we are on a battlefield. We have much evil to contend against. With God we may be more than conquerors. Abraham, by erecting his altar, claimed the land for God. So we must claim our land for Christ, place missionaries in every district, and stop not until we have*

won our community, our province, our Dominion for our Captain.[13]

The references to the need to "claim the land for Christ" and to be "more than conquerors" are revealing. Having appropriated the prairie lands from their former native inhabitants, Anglo-Canadians clearly saw the need to invoke religion as both a justification and a means of maintaining territorial control. As Abraham had erected an altar in "the promised land," so missionaries as harbingers of the Anglo-Canadian group needed to build churches throughout the West. Imperialism needed to be buttressed spiritually.

Viewed in this context, the preoccupation of individuals such as Catherine and W.R. Motherwell with moulding Abernethy society to Christian purpose becomes comprehensible. As Catherine Motherwell's early career as a Presbyterian missionary among the File Hills Indians attests, the process of Christianizing the world entailed an active assimilation of non-Christian cultures.[14] Similarily W.R. Motherwell's involvement in the temperance movement represented an attempt to eliminate the "un-Christian" influence of liquor. His personal financing of the building of a temperance hotel in Abernethy, that is, a hotel serving only non-alcoholic beverages[15] demonstrated how far he was prepared to go in pursuing his perceived responsibility in Christianizing the community.

Another example of the extension of Christianity into community affairs was the Sabbatarian movement, which gained currency in Ontario in the late 19th century.[16] On the prairies, the North-West Territorial Assembly passed an ordinance prohibiting the performance of any labour, commercial activity, games or amusements on the "Lord's Day."[17] It is interesting to note that in the Abernethy area, the first prosecutions under this ordinance were carried out against several Métis teamsters, who were charged with transporting goods on a Sunday.[18] This is not to suggest that the Lord's Day Act was selectively applied, although further research in this area might support such a conclusion. Nor is it claimed that all Anglo-Canadian residents agreed with the application of the Sabbath rule. One Anglo-Saxon wrote to the *Qu'Appelle Progress* in protest over the Lord's Day prosecutions.[19] Sabbatarianism was a tool of social control that was available to the Anglo-Canadian leaders when required.

It takes little imagination to see that this activist orientation of Calvinism could reinforce its advocates' social position. Leading citizens appropriated the power and status that accompanied their roles as pillars of the Christian church. As elders and leaders in church-related organizations such as the women's missionary societies and the W.C.T.U., they

invoked a higher purpose in support of their objectives. The Protestant creed, then, assisted Abernethy's Anglo-Canadian elite in establishing and maintaining its control in society.

The religious orientation of Abernethy society was accompanied by a rigid code of morality. Since moral life entailed such a struggle between temptation and the exercise of will, Victorian Canadians created many taboos of unacceptable behaviour, including card-playing, swearing, and alcohol consumption. Most of these activities were associated with the early settlement period when young bachelors sought relief in beer parlors and brothels from the monotony and loneliness of homesteading. The imposition of prohibitions against perceived immorality represented an attempt by the new middle-class order to entrench its authority. At Lanark Place, Catherine Motherwell was said to have disapproved of card-playing and refused to participate in it.[20] In questionnaires filled out in the 1950s, a number of early settlers also drew attention to the taboo of card-playing, particularly among Methodists.[21]

Victorian prudery found its most ardent support among settlers' wives, since they perceived that they had the most to lose from the sexual and other indiscretions which had been the preserve of men. Nellie McClung is quite clear on this in *The Stream Runs Fast*.[22] Other evidence is comparatively rare but may be read between the lines in settlers' accounts. One homesteader, at Ellisboro, southeast of Abernethy, related in his diary that his bride of three months had banished him from the house. From his place of exile he wrote "... Ructions at night about swearing. I am evicted, ..."[23]

Men also played a role in preserving community standards from moral decay. One Abernethy resident has related an incident that illustrates W.R. Motherwell's contribution. One weekend Motherwell returned to his farm via the Grand Trunk Pacific rail service to Lorlie, northeast of Abernethy. Arriving in the early hours of the morning, Motherwell was driven by cutter to Abernethy, where the driver stopped briefly, before proceeding to the farm. Motherwell heard sounds from a late-night revelry at the local pool hall on Main Street. He proceeded to register a complaint with the town authorities; all merry-making henceforth ceased.[24]

By far the greatest moral battle waged by Anglo-Saxon farmers was against the use and abuse of alcohol. From the 1890s the temperance movement was a preoccupation with W.R. Motherwell and his Presbyterian and Methodist neighbours. This was not surprising, since they perceived alcohol to threaten all they held dear — religion, the family, the work ethic, and private property. W.R. Motherwell and his colleagues in

the movement were not mere advocates of temperance — they were proselytes of prohibition. They were opposed to any use of alcohol, whether for recreational or medicinal purposes. In 1899 Motherwell wrote to Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier to express deep disappointment at Laurier's refusal to support the prohibitionist cause. He noted that he had been one of Laurier's strongest defenders in the past, but that he might now have to reconsider his personal support.[25]

The Temperance Movement also gave expression to that other distinctly Victorian trait, the sense of mission, particularly in the Banish-the-Bar Crusade after 1913. Temperance fervour intensified after the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 when reformers equated prohibition with patriotism. Since Saskatchewan's Eastern European population was often identified in the popular mind with the enemy Central Powers, prohibitionists saw the provincial referendum as a kind of loyalty test.[26] The emphasis placed on sobriety was exaggerated, but demonstrated the dogmatic rigidity of Victorian attitudes that still held sway on the prairies. Figure 28 shows the members of the Regina Lodge of the Royal Templars of Temperance around 1890.

Similarly, the emerging Anglo-Canadian middle class on the prairies was determined to stamp out any perceived threat to its position. Its concern with self-preservation was manifested in attempts to assimilate native and other ethnic groups.[27] Apart from the previously discussed attempt to protect the work ethic and the family, Anglo-Canadians also used the temperance movement as a lever against the cultural traditions of these groups.[28] Efforts to impose a uniformity of language instruction in the schools were also a part of the assimilationist drive.[29]

It is clear then that the prairie Anglo-Canadian world view in the Victorian period reflected traditional social mores. There was also, however, some evidence of a changing outlook in the period. This was particularly true of the perceived role of women. Before 1900, a dual ideology of womanhood prevailed. In keeping with the family-centredness of the Victorian era, women were idealized as the inspirational force of the home. As a Moose Jaw woman wrote in 1889, "Womanliness is a combination of qualities which may be cultivated by women in all ranks of life, they are essentially heart qualities ...." But feminine virtues formed only part of the woman's role; pioneer wives were required to perform hard domestic labour on the homestead: "We are placed in a world where there is work to be done, ... life is no butterfly kind of existence."[30] Despite the obvious importance of women to the farm economy, their role was still conceived as a supportive one; they were adjuncts to their husbands.

> *... on the womanliness of this generation will depend very largely the manliness of the next. It has been said, "Boys are what their mothers make them, young men are what their sweethearts make them, and husbands are what their wives make them."*[31]

Even in the context of contemporary women's groups, the statements of the members of these organizations evince an acceptance of their subordinate status. At a meeting of the Qu'Appelle Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1897, women heard portions of a scripture "bearing on Christian quietness, that women should be adorned with a meek and quiet spirit ...."[32]

By the First World War era the ideology of womanhood had shifted to encompass a new role, separate from that of supporting men. The economic precondition of this change in emphasis was the development of the Anglo-Canadian settlements into prosperous farm communities. Farmers' wives, burdened with housework in the pioneering period, now

Fig. 28. Royal Templars of Temperance, Regina Lodge members, ca. 1890. From the earnest expressions on their faces and their assorted weaponry including a mace, gavel, and spears, the Templars are clearly ready to do battle. (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, R-B637).

employed female domestics to do most of the household labour. Demographically, many early settlers' wives had also reached middle age and had already raised their families to adulthood. Freed of "women's work" and the tasks of raising young children, Anglo-Canadian women could devote themselves to enhancing the domestic environment and to community service. Speaking on the expanded role of women in 1916 Catherine Motherwell stated:

> *Women's most important present day responsibilities are in the uplifting of the homes. The homes must be raised to meet the present day conditions, raised intellectually, spiritually, socially, and aesthetically.*[33]

Yet it was not enough to concentrate on one's own home; these virtues must be proselytized.

> *... We must have influence at work that will reach the homes where these standards are low. We have a great avenue of service open to us through our church organizations and our schools through the intelligent use of these, much can be accomplished. But not only are these old-time institutions — the church and the school — avenues through which we may work, there are many other open doors ....*[34]

As W.R. Morrison, in his study of late 19th-century feminism in Ontario, has noted, the adoption of community service by women was an extension of their traditional role of "mothering and maintenance" that they had performed in the home.[35] Most of the late Victorian members of the Ontario women's movement were the wives of middle-class businessmen and professionals. Their voluntary work focused on the non-confrontational areas of family life and child care. It was directed principally at alleviating the superficial problems of working-class mothers and their children, but Morrison notes that in their reform efforts they blamed the victims for their own suffering. Since these middle-class feminists sought to change not society but the victims, their movement was essentially conservative in tone.[36]

An analysis of the program of the Women Grain Growers' Associations in Saskatchewan reveals that this prairie movement was equally conservative in its assumptions. In 1917, Catherine Motherwell's sister, Janet Gillespie, reported on the provincial association's convention to the Abernethy chapter. Among the questions discussed were: female suffrage,

liquor laws, laws affecting the home and family, municipal hospitals, women police "to look after wayward girls," juvenile and women's courts, social diseases, co-operation among women, compulsory education, and the need for "more patriotism."[37] As in the case of Ontario, a strong degree of maternalistic mission permeated the women's program. The women's groups blamed the victim. In Catherine Motherwell's words, "the weak must be made strong, the ignoble transformed."[38] In the case of the mentally deficient, however, the women were not so optimistic. At another meeting of the Abernethy chapter a speaker proposed that society must prevent the mentally ill "from mingling with those who are sound in mind and body and that would prevent their marrying and giving birth to children." She also advocated the sending of specialists to five different communities "to determine how suspected cases should be dealt with and thus prevent the formation of colonies of degenerates."[39]

This last quotation shows that the Eugenics movement, which acquired such prominence in the United States and in Alberta after 1900, also made inroads into rural Saskatchewan. Eugenics essentially was a social philosophy of genetic manipulation to promote racial betterment. Kenneth Ludmerer has analyzed the prejudice of American eugenicists in terms of the socio-economic background of the movement's leaders. They were essentially of Protestant native-American stock which had experienced "trying times." Ludmerer draws on Richard Hofstadter's use of the concept of a "status revolution" to explain the conservative reaction of the eugenicists. Like the leaders of the progressive movement, who were alienated by the perception of losing their cultural influence and prestige in the context of industrialization, the eugenicists felt threatened by the prospect of their displacement. Their program represented, despite its reform-oriented rhetoric, an "effort by the middle class to maintain the values, virtues, and social structure of the old way of life in which that group held a vested position."[40]

Underlying the program of the Women Grain Growers' Associations, and the world view of Abernethy settlers generally, was their belief in the cultural superiority of the Anglo-Saxon "races." In a study of the Ontarian settlement fragment in the West, J.E. Rea has identified the central social theme of the prairies as the "struggle for cultural dominance." Rea showed how Anglo-Canadian settlers in Manitoba endeavoured to assert their control by imposing Ontarian political institutions, compulsory English language instruction and Prohibition.[41] He argued that Manitoba served as the prototype for similar action farther west. For example, in the District of Assiniboia the appearance of European ethnic settlements in the 1880s, and particularly after 1896, contributed to fears that the Anglo-

Saxons' dominant position in the West might be threatened. Western Anglo-Canadians responded by advocating full-fledged assimilation of immigrants.

In the Abernethy area, the assimilationist drive was spearheaded by the local press. In numerous articles in the 1880s and 1890s the *Qu'Appelle Vidette* voiced its strong opposition to any departure from unilingual English practice. For example, when German settlers at Long Lake requested in 1888 that territorial ordinances be printed in German, the *Vidette* suggested that the "curse of French" was enough. A precedent in favour of the German language would open the door to translation of government documents into other languages as well.[42] By the turn of the century, the *Vidette*'s ethnocentrism had hardened into opposition even to French language rights. Even moderate liberals like W.R. Motherwell promoted the active assimilation of groups other than English- and French-speaking residents. In 1922 he wrote to his daughter Alma:

> *... You asked — and properly asked — why we should Canadianize these non-English. In the first place, that is essential if they are going to become good citizens and take a real interest in Canadian affairs. It is only right that, if people are going to live in Canada and make their homes in Canada, they should take an interest in Canadian institutions, and it is impossible for them to do that unless they get our point of view.*[43]

It is important to place the prairie Anglo-Canadian ethnocentrism in its proper perspective. Cultural imperialism was common to all English-speaking countries in the 19th century. In Canada most men of W.R. Motherwell's ethnic and socio-economic position would not have questioned that assimilation of non-Anglo-Saxons was the proper course to follow. Within this general context there was considerable variation in the positions taken by individual Anglo-Canadians. Conservatives such as P.G. Laurie, editor of the *Saskatchewan Herald*, showed little tolerance or respect for the divergent cultural traditions of non-Anglo-Saxons.[44] On the other hand, Motherwell was a Laurier Liberal. His defence of limited French language instruction in Saskatchewan schools reflected a more tolerant perspective in line with the national Liberal Party position, while his support of Prohibition and other positions also showed his basic agreement with the principles of assimilation.

By 1929, anti-alien feeling on the prairies had hardened into outright opposition to continued admission of immigrants from central and eastern Europe. Among many submissions presented by English-speaking groups

to a provincial Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement was a brief from the Provincial Orange Lodge of Saskatchewan. Its brief was a clear statement of the Anglo-Canadians' desire to preserve their leading position in Saskatchewan Society:

> *We believe in Anglo-Saxon predominance within this province; that it is an unwise policy to, at any time, bring in more people than can be properly assimilated. We must protect our economic, social, moral and educational principles, and so regulate immigration that these principles may be advanced rather than retarded. We grant that the incoming peoples may add to what we already have, but we recognize as our foundations, those British ideals which are fundamental to our national existence ....*[45]

But as this statement also showed, "Anglo-Saxon predominance" was not conceived narrowly in the political sense but was broadly intended to encompass economic, social, and moral life.

VIII. AGRARIAN UNREST IN THE CENTRAL QU'APPELLE REGION

In 1902, farmers in the Central Qu'Appelle region formed the Territorial Grain Growers' Association (TGGA). This organization was the wellspring of provincial farmers' associations and has been identified in western Canadian folklore with a successful struggle of prairie farmers to further their own interests. The almost legendary role attributed to agrarian leaders such as W.R.Motherwell found its most romantic expression in Hopkins Moorehouse's *Deep Furrows*, published in 1918. Moorehouse, who was a personal friend of Motherwell, portrayed the role of the "man from Abernethy" in heroic terms. He described the organizational meeting at which Motherwell and Peter Dayman signed the notices which instigated the territorial association:

> *When Peter Dayman drove away from the Motherwell place that night perhaps he scarcely realized that he carried in his pocket the fate of the farmers of Canada. Neither he, W.R. Motherwell, nor any other man could have foretold the bitter struggles which those letters were destined to unleash — the stirring events that were impending.*[1]

An article by D.J. Hall reiterates the thesis that collective action by farmers in the early 1900s contributed to a "revolution in the relationship between the Dominion Government and the farmers of Western Canada."

> *... The events described occurred in the context of, and contributed to, a growing Western regional consciousness. The rapid expansion of the prairie West and the increasing importance of western grain in Canada's export economy lent a weight to farmers' demands which the government no longer could afford to ignore.*[2]

Despite the great significance ascribed by these observers to the early farmers' movements in the District of Assiniboia, no detailed analysis has yet precisely traced the influence of the early agrarian unrest. It is pertinent to define the nature of the reforms initiated by W.R. Motherwell and his colleagues and to determine whether their impact was permanent. Second, a structural analysis of the movement is needed to determine whether the agrarian agitation reflected a true "revolution" in the relationship between the Dominion Government and prairie farmers or whether it simply represented a modification of the existing structure. To understand the importance of the TGGA founding in the overall context of western Canadian history, it is important to analyze the events beginning with the agrarianism initiated almost 20 years earlier.

The agrarian protest had its origins in Prime Minister John A. Macdonald's National Policy of immigration and western settlement, protective tariffs, and a railway monopoly.[3] Historians have not failed to note that almost immediately after emigrating from eastern Canada to the West, settlers began to raise grievances against interests in the central provinces from which they had just departed. These focussed on what the farmers perceived to be their exploitation at the hands of monopolistic railway, grain and elevator companies. Particularly discomfiting was the tariff system, which obliged the farmers to sell their grain at frequently depressed world prices, while paying artificially high prices for eastern Canadian manufactured goods, such as farm implements. The Dominion Government continued to support its railway allies by repeatedly passing disallowance legislation to nullify provincial attempts to break the CPR's monopoly. The failure of both major parties to respond effectively to the cries of prairie discontent ensured that the farmers would seek new avenues to express their frustrations.

In 1883 Manitoba farmers founded the Manitoba and North West Farmers' Union.[4] Manitoba was then in the midst of an economic depression. Farmers were frustrated by falling wheat prices and declining western immigration, which portended that the prairies would remain under-populated and settlement diffuse. The lack of adequate rail service to many localities compounded the discontent. In October 1883 a Brandon-area settler wrote to the *Brandon Sun*, complaining of high costs and minimal profits, and proposed holding a convention,

> *to consider our position and to determine which steps shall be taken to secure this country from the impending ruin and to obtain for ourselves that independence which is the birth right of every British subject.*[5]

As a result, on 26 November farmers met at Brandon to found the Farmers' Union; they resolved to agitate for political reforms to further their interests. The subsequent provincial convention on 19 December approved a "Declaration of Rights." This platform supported the right of the Manitoba government to issue charters to any railway companies in the province, "free from any interference." It also demanded the removal of tariffs on agricultural implements and building materials and modifications in tariffs on goods needed for daily consumption. It called for amendments to the provincial Municipal Act to enable local municipalities to assist in the building of grain storage facilities and mills, requested the appointment of grain inspectors, called for unhindered provincial power to charter railways, and endorsed the construction of the Hudson's Bay Railway. The convention sent delegates to Ottawa to present the Union's demands to Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, who rejected them out of hand.

A second provincial convention in March 1884 revealed, as Brian McCutcheon has shown, the deep divisions and weaknesses in the movement. The convention passed a resolution permitting the Union to advertise in eastern and foreign newspapers advising prospective immigrants not to come until necessary reforms had been carried out. Provincial business interests and the press turned away from the Union and attacked it. Meanwhile, Premier John Norquay seized the initiative from the Union when he introduced a draft "Bill of Rights," similar to the Farmers' Union's program, in the legislative assembly. Its position undercut, the Union immediately faded as a force.

Concurrently, a similar farmers' organization, the Manitoba and North West Farmers' Co-operative and Protective Union, rose to prominence. The Protective Union had also been founded in December 1883, at Manitou, but it centred its appeal on the need to repeal the monopoly clause in the Dominion's CPR legislation, which prevented the building of rival rail lines. The new organization pledged itself to seek the following objectives:

> *i) To concentrate the efforts of the agriculturalists of Manitoba and the Northwest in securing the repealing of laws that militate against their interest.*
> *ii) The removal by agitation and other lawful means of the railway and all other monopolies that prevent the securing of a free market for the products of the soil.*
> *iii) The securing of the cheapest freights possible to the markets of the world.*

iv) The removal of unjust restrictions upon trade, and generally, to guard the interests of the people against unjust aggression from any quarter whatsoever.
v) The formation of subordinate unions in every portion of the province.[6]

Another important aspect of the Union's program was its promotion of the farmers' participation in grain marketing. In December 1883 it began to purchase wheat from farmers to ship to Ontario, and it paid prices of 10 to 15 cents more than elevator companies per bushel to participating members. In the spring of 1884 the Union obtained a provincial charter allowing it to acquire assets up to $100 000 in value to finance these activities. Branch Unions were formed to promote the Union's economic ventures, although it was unable to raise sufficient money to carry out its co-operative plans.

Despite the lack of working capital, the Protective Union negotiated a deal with Mitchell & Mitchell, a Montreal grain company, making this company exclusive agents for marketing the Union's wheat. Not surprisingly, Winnipeg businessman resisted these efforts to direct trade away from their companies. The Union also incurred the opposition of the Winnipeg grain merchants when it decided to purchase binder twine co-operatively for its members and awarded a contract to an Ontario firm which had submitted the lowest tender.[7]

At the same time, the Protective Union addressed the problem of monopolistic practices in the grain marketing system. Since the CPR required that all elevators on its rail lines possess a 25 000 bushel capacity, it was able effectively to prevent local businessmen, who lacked the necessary capital, from building their own elevators. Thus the existing line elevator companies enjoyed a monopoly position. In some localities Branch Unions were able to establish their own companies, but success depended on a large pool of patrons, which was impossible to achieve in recently settled districts that were sparsely populated. The Union, accordingly, pressed the CPR to modify its regulations to permit farmers to load their wheat directly into box cars from loading platforms. Alternatively, it asked for the right to build flat warehouses at sidings so that farmers could store their grain while awaiting the arrival of a grain car. This provision would enable farmers to obtain "track" wheat prices, by bypassing the elevators and concomitant storage charges. The CPR refused to grant these changes to its regulations.

Continued problems with yields and low prices in 1884 incited the Protective Union to a more political orientation. When Premier Norquay

dropped the demands for crown lands and elimination of the CPR monopoly clause in exchange for an increased provincial subsidy, disappointed farmers perceived the need for renewed political action. The Union's executive called a convention for 4 March 1885. At this meeting prominent Liberals persuaded the convention to pass a resolution promoting free trade. Another participant called for the adoption of the principle of representation by population for the Manitoba Legislative Assembly. Yet few concrete agrarian issues were addressed.

At the same time the Protective Union's credibility was seriously compromised by its association in the public mind with radical groups during the North-West Rebellion. The Prince Albert Settler's Union, comprising Canadian settlers on the Saskatchewan, allied with the Métis in the early stages of the revolt. Since the Prince Albert Union had been modelled after the Protective Union the parent organization was open to the charge that it was a front for the secessionists. To aggravate the situation, Charles Stewart, the original instigator of the Manitoba Union, called a secessionist meeting in Brandon in March 1885. Coinciding with several local Protective Union meetings throughout the province that month, the March meeting contributed to the perception that the Union's members were disloyal.

In May 1885, the Protective Union sealed its fate with the publication of an appeal to Queen Victoria. While most of this lengthy tome was a moderate and judicious treatment of the farmers' position in Western Canada, it concluded with a defence of the North-West Rebellion as the result of long-neglected grievances. The appeal warned that if Manitoba and the Northwest

> *are doomed much longer to their present anomalous position — in name only, the colony of a colony, denied all the rights that belong to the other colonies in the Confederation, under the "British North America Act," — then, indeed, it will only be a question of time as to when the people will become tired of their equivocal position and slip the yoke of servitude.*[8]

Noble as those sentiments might be the appeal could not have been more poorly timed. Associated in the public mind with the secessionists, the Protective Union was politically discredited. Prominent Liberal Party politicians, who had promoted the Union in its infancy, now abandoned it. Moreover, the Union's co-operative grain-buying ventures were effectively sabotaged by a series of legal suits launched by grain merchants. The final death blow to the movement occurred in March 1886, when

Brandon farmers formed the Farmers' Alliance, a radical splinter group with a more political orientation. This further division in the farmers' ranks effectively destroyed the Union, and both organizations folded later that year.

By the end of the decade continued economic difficulties and unalleviated grievances among farmers contributed to a revival of agrarian radicalism. The appearance of the Patrons of Industry in 1887 heralded the first major agrarian challenge to the traditional political framework. Originating in the United States, the Patrons entered Canada in 1889 when a Michigan organizer spoke to a receptive audience of Lambton County, Ontario farmers, who formed a chapter the following year. The movement grew rapidly. By March 1891 the Patrons had formed more than 300 lodges in Ontario.[9]

The Patrons' platform, which they adopted at a meeting in London, Ontario in September 1893, addressed a broad range of issues, centring on the Dominion's transportation and tariff policies. The platform called for an end to the system of providing government grants to private railways. With respect to trade it favoured the elimination of tariffs except for purposes of revenue, and stated that these tariffs should fall principally on luxury goods. It also called for reciprocity in trade between Canada and the rest of the world, when equitable terms could be arranged. Other planks included the maintenance of the British connection, reservation of crown lands for settlers, economy in government, simplification of laws, and the abolition of the Canadian Senate.[10]

The Patrons soon appeared in Western Canada. In the fall of 1891 Manitoba farmers formed a provincial Grand Association of the Patrons of Industry. Their adopted slogan, "Manitoba for Manitobans," reflected the regional alienation that had hardened after a decade of Dominion Legislation disallowing provincial railway charters. Manitoba farmers were also angered by federal inaction in surrendering control of public lands to the province and by the recent boundaries case, which had awarded disputed territory to Ontario. The fourth clause of their platform, however, was noteworthy for its call upon farmers and wage-labourers to unite in opposition to monopolistic interests:

> *That we mutually agree as farmers and employees to band ourselves together for self-protection and for the purpose of obtaining a portion of the advantages that are now almost exclusively enjoyed by the financial, commercial and manufacturing classes, who by a system of combines and monopolies are exacting from us an undue proportion of the fruits of our toil and that*

> *we may have more time to devote to education and secure for our selves and [sic] equitable share of the profits of our industry. That our endeavor be to place the farmers and laborers of Manitoba in unison with the manufacturing laborers of the east to the exclusion of the middle men.*[11]

For reasons outlined earlier, farmers, as a propertied class, possessed interests separate from those of labourers. As Brian McCutcheon has noted, the Manitoba Patrons soon abandoned their rhetorical statements of common cause with the working classes. By February 1892 the Patrons had formed more than 100 chapters in the West, including several in the North-West Territories. Between 1892 and 1895 the number of Patron sub-associations tripled to more than 300 in Western Canada. In this period the Western Patrons endorsed policies that reflected a distinctly western standpoint. They were, for example, more inclined to demand the elimination of tariff barriers; they also favoured the building of a government-controlled rail outlet to Hudson Bay. The Western Order also attacked the Dominion policy of land grants to railways, and in 1894 it endorsed the principle of the enfranchisement of women.[12]

It remained for the Patrons to test their policies in the political arena. Having elected a sizable contingent to the Ontario legislature in 1894, they were also successful in a provincial by-election in Manitoba the same year. By the time of the Manitoba provincial election in January 1896, however, the Patrons' provincial rights plank had effectively been appropriated by Premier Thomas Greenway's Liberals. Only two Patrons were elected. Nationally, the Order's support was similarly undercut by the Liberal Party, as a paltry three candidates won election to the House of Commons in the Dominion election of June 1896. The Patrons' overwhelming defeat sounded the death knell of the movement.[13]

Despite the Patrons' defeat, the farmers' grievances continued unabated in the late 1890s. It was true that their premature foray into the political arena had somewhat discredited the concept of direct political action. The principal sources of discontent, monopolistic transportation and grain handling practices, however, remained. In September 1897 news broke of an attempt by four major grain companies to combine to lower prices to farmers. At the same time a number of elevators refused to store grain they had not already purchased until their existing stocks had been shipped. Since the CPR granted a monopoly in grain handling to the elevator companies, farmers were denied the opportunity to sell their grain to a competitor.[14] During the 1898 Parliamentary session, J.M. Douglas, Patron-Liberal M.P. for East Assiniboia, and R.L. Richardson,

M.P. for the Manitoba constituency for Lisgar, each introduced private members' bills in the House of Commons. The bills, if passed, would require the railways to allow farmers to load their grain directly onto the grain cars from their wagons, on platforms or from flat warehouses. Richardson and Douglas also sought changes in the grain inspection system.[15] D.G. Hall has noted that lobbying by grain interests caused Douglas to dilute the provisions of his bill. The amended Bill dropped reference to platform loading and permitted the farmers only two hours in which to load their grain cars. A penalty of 50 cents per hour, or $5 per 12-hour period was to be charged for demurrage or delays in loading. These amendments were passed by the Railway Committee of the Commons. When they learned of the new amendments, farmers reacted angrily and protested that they could not possibly load their wheat in the two-hour period. Western M.P.s approached D'Alton McCarthy, an Ontario member, to draft a new set of amendments. McCarthy's proposals provided for: the building of flat warehouses when requested by a person; the issuance of grain cars on demand to farmers to permit direct loading from wagons; the reduction or elimination of demurrage charges.[16] McCarthy died before these amendments could be considered during the 1898 session. As a result of the bill's introduction, the CPR did provide some cars for platform loading that year.

When Douglas reintroduced his bill in 1899, it incorporated the amendments drafted by McCarthy. This time, considerations of partisan politics obliged Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, to attempt to sidetrack the bill by referring it again to a committee. An open split developed between Sifton and Douglas, whose efforts were winning demonstrable support in the West. To solve the impasse, on 7 October 1899 the Liberal government appointed a five-member Royal Commission on the Shipment and Transportation of Grain.[17] The Commission's terms of reference included the investigation of charges that elevator companies had unfairly docked farmers' grain and had given short weight. It was also instructed to investigate the allegation that the elevator companies enjoyed a monopoly position by thwarting attempts to build flat warehouses where their elevators were located and that they profited from this situation by keeping prices lower than their true market value.

After holding a series of hearings at 22 localities throughout the West, the commissioners reported that the principal concerns expressed by western farmers were related to restrictions on grain loading. The commissioners affirmed that car shortages had resulted in depressed prices for farm produce. They observed additionally that little actual competition existed among elevators with respect to prices offered to

farmers. In the years that immediately preceded the investigation, mergers among elevator companies had progressively reduced competition. According to evidence presented before the Commission, 447 elevators then existed in the Manitoba inspection district, comprising Manitoba and the North-West Territories. Of these 301 or 67 percent were owned by three line elevator companies and two milling companies. A further 120 or 27 percent were owned by individual millers and grain buyers. The farmers' own joint stock elevators accounted for only 26, or about six percent of the total.[18] The Grain Commission accordingly recommended that loading platforms be constructed by the railroad and that an officer be appointed to regulate the grain trade on the prairies.[19] During the 1900 session Charles N. Bell, Secretary of the Royal Commission, worked with Clifford Sifton to draft a new bill to regulate the grain trade. The Bill, passed on 7 July 1900, became the Manitoba Grain Act.[20]

In 1901 farmers in southwestern Manitoba and the District of Assiniboia reared the largest harvest in their history, estimated at 62 820 000 bushels.[21] Harvesting was delayed by wet weather, and by the end of the Great Lakes navigation season, more than half the farmers' crop was still on their farms. Compounding the problems, the CPR lacked sufficient grain cars to handle the unprecedented harvest. When farmers hauled their wagon loads to the railhead, they discovered they were unable to ship their grain. At the same time the elevator companies, anticipating the need to cover storage costs for the winter, lowered their street prices for grain. Since farmers could not obtain cars themselves they were obliged to sell to the elevators at the reduced price. The situation deteriorated as farmers' notes on implement purchases or land mortgage payments became due, and their anger and frustration mounted.

The first stirrings of the impending farmers' "revolt" occurred in November 1901. Two Indian Head farmers, John Sibbold and John A. Millar, the secretary of the local agricultural society, called an "indignation meeting" to permit an airing of grievances. About 50 farmers attended and demonstrated a high degree of unity in "opposition to the corporations which they stigmatized as their oppressors."[22] Indian Head was then one of the principal grain shipping centres in the West but only one-fourth of the huge 1901 harvest had been shipped by rail.[23] Hostility towards the grain "blockade" (Fig. 29) was therefore particularly acute among farmers in the Indian Head area.

In December 1901 two farmers in the Abernethy district, W.R. Motherwell and Peter Dayman, determined to exploit the momentum created by the Indian Head meeting. It was not surprising that the impetus for action should come from the settlements north of the Qu'Appelle

Fig. 29. Farmers lined up behind Indian Head elevators during the grain blockade. (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, R-B2809).

River. Like their Indian Head counterparts, farmers from the northern districts had been thwarted in their attempt to market their wheat, but they had experienced the additional aggravation and expense of hauling grain distances of 20 to 30 miles. Dayman and Motherwell met in the lobby of Motherwell's stone house and agreed to call a meeting at Indian Head for the purpose of initiating an organized response to the "wheat blockade." They sent letters to prominent farmers throughout the Central Qu'Appelle region, to Wolseley, Sintaluta, Indian Head, Qu'Appelle, Wide Awake and other localities. To ensure that the meeting might not be construed as a partisan political rally, both farmers — Dayman, the Conservative supporter, and Motherwell, a Liberal — signed the meeting notices.[24]

The 18 December meeting was scheduled to coincide with the date of a political debate at Indian Head on the question of provincial status for the North-West Territories. Among the luminaries who were to participate were the premiers of the North-West Territories, F.W.G. Haultain, and of Manitoba, Rodmond P. Roblin. Motherwell and Dayman were thus assured of a large crowd for their own meeting, which was held in the afternoon.[25]

Motherwell and Dayman both addressed the meeting and spoke in favour of immediate organization to redress the farmers' grievances. Feelings evidently were running high; Motherwell later related that at the

earlier indignation meeting angry farmers were virtually incited to violence.

> *When this matter was broached many would jump to their feet in protest. "Now the time for organization is gone," they declared; "It's bullets we want and guns that are needed!"*[26]

A more reasoned course prevailed, as the speakers persuaded the audience that the farmers' ingrained individualism must be overcome if they were to combat the monopoly interests successfully. Farmers agreed to found a "Territorial Grain Growers' Association" and to meet the following month to draft a constitution and to plan strategy. Angus Mackay, the Superintendent of the Indian Head Dominion Experimental Farm, nominated his long-time colleague W.R. Motherwell as the provisional president of the association. The assembled farmers also elected John Millar as provisional secretary along with a board of directors.[27]

On 6 January 1902 farmers met to draft a constitution for the TGGA. The turn-out was disappointing, but the organizers, including W.R. Motherwell and Matthew Snow of Wolseley, embarked on a speaking tour to enlist support for the new organization.[28] They were well received at numerous localities, and by the time of the annual convention of the TGGA on 1 February 1902, 38 local grain growers' associations had formed and sent delegates. The convention confirmed the provisional officers in their positions and approved a plan of action. Essentially, the TGGA endorsed three specific recommendations by W.R. Motherwell for changes to the Manitoba Grain Act:

> *That section 42 of the Manitoba Grain Act be amended to empower the Warehouse Commissioner to compel all railway companies to erect every loading platform approved by the said Commissioner within thirty days after said approval is given and in default the Commissioner shall have power to impose penalties on such defaulting railway, and collect same through the courts, and that this amendment come into force on May 1, 1902. That railway companies be compelled to provide farmers with cars to be loaded direct from vehicles, at all stations, irrespective of there being an elevator, warehouse or loading platform at such station or not. That the Grain Act be amended making it the duty of the railway agent, when there is a shortage of cars, to apportion the available cars in the order in which they are applied for, and that in case such cars are misappropriated by*

applicants not entitled to them, the penalties of the act be enforced against such parties.[29]

All recommendations were sent to Parliament where they were drafted almost *verbatim* into amendments to the Manitoba Grain Act. The amendments received a full debate on 17 March, were passed and received assent on 19 May 1902.[30] Among additional amendments passed at the same time was a provision removing limits on the construction of flat warehouses. Anyone living within 40 miles of a siding could now apply to build one. Moreover, where new warehouses were built, the CPR was required to underwrite the cost of land and sidings. At sidings where no station yard existed, the railways were required to build loading platforms, provided that 10 farmers made formal application.[31]

The legislation in itself did not ensure that the farmers' grievances would be redressed. In 1902 farmers reaped an even larger crop than the 1901 harvest, and grain cars continued to be in short supply. The CPR, moreover, evidently continued to give priority to the elevator companies in apportioning its cars. W.R. Motherwell wrote, "the plain provisions of the car distribution clause are disregarded at every shipping point, I believe, in the West ... Of 67 'spotted' cars at Sintaluta only 7 have been assigned to farmers."[32] On behalf of the TGGA W.R. Motherwell and Peter Dayman travelled to Winnipeg to lodge a complaint with the CPR. They suggested to railway officials that unless the CPR abided by the new car distribution amendments of the Manitoba Grain Act, they would initiate action to force their compliance. William Whyte, second vice-president of the CPR, responded that the car shortage was the result of an inability on the part of the railway to keep pace with the rapidly expanding wheat production on the prairies.[33]

No noticeable change in the situation occurred, and farmers remained convinced of the CPR's continued abuse of the car distribution regulations of the Act. Several months later the TGGA laid a formal complaint before the Warehouse Commissioner, charging that the CPR agent at Sintaluta had violated the Act's provisions. On 28 November the Commissioner investigated the complaint at Sintaluta and initiated court proceedings against the agent. The case was tried before a tribunal of justices of the peace headed by Magistrate H.O. Partridge of Sintaluta.[34] Evidence was adduced to show that two elevators at Sintaluta had been given priority in receiving cars ahead of A.W. Annis, a local farmer, despite the fact that his application had been submitted before theirs. Further evidence showed that another farmer had waited seven weeks for his car; in the meantime 80 cars had been allotted. The magistrates unanimously

found the defendent guilty and imposed a fine of $50 and costs, or one month in jail. The CPR promptly appealed the judgement, but the verdict was upheld by the Supreme Court of Canada.[35]

Farmers viewed the test case as a vindication of their efforts. Lewis Aubrey Wood states that where farmers had received only seven cars in the first two months of the 1902-1903 shipping season, the CPR dispatched "scores" of cars after the trial.[36]

A problem remained in the original wording of the 1902 shipping amendments to the Manitoba Grain Act, which had been hastily drafted and were still open to possible challenge in the courts.[37] In 1903 W.R. Motherwell and J.B. Gillespie of the TGGA and two officers of the new Manitoba Grain Growers' Association were sent to Ottawa to meet with representatives of grain and railway companies to develop a more satisfactory wording for the amendments.[38] Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, introduced the new text in Parliament as a further amendment to the Manitoba Grain Act which was subsequently passed in the 1903 session.[39]

The new amendments outlined the procedures for allocating cars and penalties for non-compliance. Railway agents were now required to keep a logbook of cars according to the format specified by the Warehouse Commissioner. Applicants were given numbers in the logbook according to the order in which they made application, and they were required to make two applications if they wished to have two cars. Agents were to allocate cars strictly according to the order of application, and no applicant could receive his second car until all other applicants had received their first. Farmers were prevented from signing their cars over to elevator companies by a provision which required unused cars to be assigned to the next applicant on the list. The Act provided heavy penalties for selling the right to the use of a car. It further required railway agents to post a daily record of all the applicants who had been allocated cars in the preceding 24 hours. Beyond the procedural aspects of the car distribution clauses, the amended Act provided for larger loading platforms to be built at rail centres to handle more cars.[40]

The 1903 debate on amendments to the Manitoba Grain Act was noteworthy in that it revealed a dichotomy of interest between different socio-economic strata of prairie wheat farmers in terms of the legislation's effects. During this debate, T.O. Davis, M.P. for the District of Saskatchewan, objected that the government's amendments would create inequities in the distribution of cars among farmers. Davis stated that many new settlers could not produce the requisite 1000 or 1500 bushels of wheat to qualify for a grain car. These settlers would be forced to sell

their grain to the elevator companies and thus would be subject to the abuses that the Manitoba Grain Act was intended to eliminate. Davis strongly recommended that the car distribution clauses be amended to permit two or three poor settlers, who had produced perhaps 500 bushels each, to apply collectively for a car.[41]

James Douglas, Member for Assiniboia East, argued against Davis' suggestion, saying that under the proposed amendments, farmers could still combine to fill a car at a loading platform.[42] Davis countered that the poorer settlers, who lived 25 miles from a railway station, were not in a position to take advantage of the platforms. Other western M.P.s, including Walter Scott, opposed Davis' proposal on the ground that it would open the door to possible fraud. Scott stated that if a farmer were permitted to order a car through the elevator, the elevator manager could conspire with other persons who possessed small quantities of grain (or none at all) to order more cars than the number to which they were entitled. For this reason, the grain growers' representatives, including W.R. Motherwell, had rejected the idea.[43] Yet, as Davis pointed out, if the object were to eliminate fraud, the provisions for the supply of cars to individuals contained no more safeguards than if they had been extended to encompass two or three joint applicants, rather than solely individual persons.[44]

To appreciate the significance of Davis' objections, it is necessary to grasp the distinctions between "street" and "track" wheat. Grain sold "on the street" was sold directly to grain dealers or elevator companies at the railhead. Since the buyers or elevator companies often enjoyed a position of monopoly in street sales, they could do several things to reduce the receipts paid to the farmer. An elevator operator could insist that his bins of higher grades of wheat be filled to capacity and thus offer the farmer the equivalent of a lower grade price on a "take it or leave it" basis. Alternatively, the street sales were subject to possible fraudulent practices of short weight and excessive dockage for impurities.

The farmer could be certain that his wheat would bring the optimal price only if he could bypass the elevator and be assured of a car to ship his grain directly to Fort William. Wheat shipped in this way was known as "track wheat."[45] We have noted that only large-scale farmers produced enough grain to participate in track shipments. The more prosperous farmers usually also possessed sufficient capital reserves to retain their wheat until the price went up. The poorer settlers, who needed immediate cash to buy necessities or pay due "notes" on implements, often were obliged to sell "on the street" while the price was depressed. On both

counts, the wealthier farmer competed much more effectively than his poorer counterpart.

Moreover, since the amended Manitoba Grain Act increased the allotment of cars to individual farmers, it reduced the number that were available to the elevators. This reduction further contributed to the disadvantageous position of the poorer farmers. In his treatment of the early grain growers' movements, Harald S. Patton has noted:

> *of the Grain Act benefit the carload grain shipper somewhat at the expense of the small grower who sells his grain on the street. The fact that the elevator can apply for only one car at a time, regardless of the amount of street grain it has to ship, has a tendency to widen the spread between street and track prices, whenever car supply is restricted, or the close of navigation approaches.*[46]

In other words, the reduction of cars available to ship street wheat forced the small producers into the position of having to pay higher storage charges.

V.C. Fowke, in his treatment of the elevator issue, has drawn attention to the difficulties caused by the indivisibility of the box cars to new settlers. Since the basic homestead consisted of 160 acres of unimproved land, and most settlers broke their land with ox teams and mouldboard breaking plows, few were able to produce large quantities of grain for many years after settlement.[47] Fowke's statements respecting the slow rate of breaking on most farms are confirmed by the quantitative data presented in Chapter II. In the fifth year after entry, Abernethy settlers were cropping an average of only 41 acres each; Neudorf settlers were cropping only 36 acres each. Indeed, by 1899, the average area cultivated per farmer in Territorial Crop District No. 2 was 88 acres.[48] Most farmers sowed oats on one-fourth to one-third of their crop lands to provide feed for their horses.[49] Assuming an average yield of 16 bushels per acre,[50] if the average farmer sowed wheat on three-fourths of his cultivated acreage he would reap 1056 bushels, just over the 1000 limit for a small car. Yet the practice of summer fallowing further reduced the land available for crop.

Discrepancies in the original disposition of free grant land also greatly affected the settler's ability to exploit the car distribution provisions of the Grain Act. It was noted earlier that Abernethy settlers usually were able to take advantage of Dominion Lands Act provisions, current in the 1880s, for additional quarter-sections of land. They often acquired two

or three quarters of open prairie land, most of which was cultivable. High quality soils in the Abernethy area also enabled these farmers to produce large quantities of wheat. Eastern European settlers at Neudorf, on the other hand, were restricted to single quarter-section entries after 1889. Their lands were of lesser productivity than those at Abernethy. More importantly, only about half of the Germans' lands were open prairie, the remainder being consumed by intermittent poplar woods. The clearing of these wooded lands did not happen until the Germans could afford to use more sophisticated clearing techniques in the 1920s. Their necessary reliance on street sales continued to place them at a disadvantage in grain marketing. As late as the mid-1920s, more than 50 percent of all prairie wheat was still being sold in less-than-carload lots. Earlier, the proportion of street sales had been larger.[51]

Abernethy settlers like W.R. Motherwell and J.B. Gillespie, two of the four farmers' representatives who co-authored the 1903 Grain Act Amendments, were well aware that settlers spent many years developing their farms before producing enough wheat to fill a grain car. In his diary, Motherwell's neighbour Samuel Chipperfield reported that in 1892, 10 years after his arrival on his homestead, he had threshed only 900 bushels.[52] This harvest was 100 bushels short of the capacity of a small grain car. Chipperfield had expanded his yield by 1895, but his harvest of 1542 bushels[53] of wheat was still only barely enough to fill a large car. By the turn of the century, however, most Abernethy-area settlers were in a position to take advantage of the new car distribution provisions, for which they had lobbied.

Comparatively few loading platforms were built after 1900. Their chief value lay in their function as a competitive alternative to monopolistic elevator companies. The farmers believed that the presence of platforms kept the elevator companies "honest." Paradoxically, the emphasis on platform loading was a reactionary throwback. Direct loading was an archaic and inefficient technique, out of step with modern technological developments.[54] Much time and effort were wasted as farmers used scoop shovels to throw the wheat manually from the grain wagons into the box cars (Fig. 30). One farmer recognized this when he wrote to the *Regina Standard* to suggest that farmers should continue to take advantage of the more advanced elevator technology to load their wheat. He proposed that special bins be set aside in elevators for the specific storage of farmers' grain, as a prelude to loading on their own box cars.[55] Yet none of the Grain Act amendments reflected this standpoint, and loading platforms continued to be used into the 1930s.[56]

Fig. 30. Loading wheat from a platform siding, ca. 1920. (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, R-A8829).

With the passage of the Manitoba Grain Act amendments, the enthusiasm for continued activism among the original officers of the TGGA waned. A new group of activists, most notably E.A. Partridge of Sintaluta, had begun to press the TGGA to agitate for more stringent regulation of the grading system and inspection of elevators. For W.R. Motherwell and John Millar, however, the TGGA had accomplished its principal objectives and the time had arrived for a re-assessment of the farmers' role. They stated their views in an open letter to the *Qu'Appelle Progress*, which appeared in the 1 December 1904 issue:

> *... The principal difficulties that confronted us as a body at the time of our organization, and indeed, was the occasion of our coming together as an organized body, have been largely corrected or removed, and it would appear as if we are now at*

> *the parting of the ways where we must either branch off into new lines of work more intimately allied with actual successful grain growing, or else suffer the natural consequences of not being fully or profitably employed.*[57]

The authors also announced that papers on agricultural topics would be read at the forthcoming annual meeting of the TGGA. Clearly the officers were moving away from an activist stance to a more conservative position which emphasized practical day-to-day aspects of farming. Another statement, to the effect that the grain growers' advancement "lies with the individual farmer,"[58] illustrated Millar's and Motherwell's rejection of continued collective action.

Thereafter the momentum in the farmers' movement shifted to activists promoting formal co-operation in grain handling and marketing. The story of E.A. Partridge's attempts to enlist support from within the ranks of the TGGA for his concept of a producers' co-operative trading association has often been told.[59] Partridge and a group of like-minded Sintaluta-area farmers launched the Grain Growers' Grain Company (GGGC) in 1906. The founding of the Company inaugurated a protracted struggle with the established grain companies over the GGGC's attempt to secure and maintain a seat on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange. By paying patronage dividends to its member clients, the company precipitated its expulsion from the Exchange. Partridge then enlisted the support of Manitoba Premier Roblin for reinstatement. Pressured by the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association (MGGA) on behalf of the GGGC, Roblin's government influenced the Exchange to give the GGGC its seat. In the process, D.W. McCuaig, President of the MGGA, had brought suit against three member companies for combining to obstruct trade. Partridge, as a member of the board of the Saskatchewan Grain Grower's Association (SGGA — successor to the TGGA), assured the Manitoba association of the SGGA's support. In an open letter W.R. Motherwell, now a member of the Saskatchewan cabinet, and John Millar of the SGGA attacked Partridge for acting unilaterally. Their letter underlined a split that had been long developing in the ranks of the agrarian movement.[60]

Differences between the radical and conservative elements in the farmers' movement reappeared in sharp relief in the context of the debate over publicly owned elevators. In early 1908, Partridge persuaded the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association to endorse the principle of provincial ownership of inland elevators and Dominion ownership of terminal elevators. At the same time, conventions of the provincial grain

growers' associations in Manitoba and Alberta passed resolutions in support of the SGGA proposal.

The details of the "elevator issue" have been discussed at length in studies by V.C. Fowke and D.S. Spafford.[61] Briefly summarized, at the behest of Premier Roblin of Manitoba, the premiers of the prairie provinces met in May 1908 to discuss the Partridge Plan. They did not act on the proposal for publicly owned elevators, but agreed instead to recommend that the railways be pressed to implement some reforms. The Interprovincial Council of Grain Growers rejected the premiers' suggestion as inadequate, and a second meeting of the premiers with agrarian leaders was convened in November 1908. The premiers subsequently announced their decision not to become involved in publicly owned elevators in the absence of a monopoly in the elevator field. Such a restriction on trade would require an amendment to the British North America Act. Again, the Interprovincial Council rejected the notion that a monopoly was needed to ensure the success of the proposed public elevators. Also in 1908, an Inter-provincial Council delegation, including Partridge, made overtures to Dominion officials for amendments to the Inspection and Grain Act. As part of their proposal, they urged the federal government to acquire the terminal elevators at Fort William and Port Arthur.[62]

In late 1909, the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association formally requested that the provincial Liberal government initiate a public elevator system. The Saskatchewan government responded by appointing a Royal Commission to investigate these proposals. The Commission was well aware of Premier Walter Scott's expressed opposition to public elevators. In its report, released 31 October 1910, the Commission rejected public ownership and recommended the creation of a system of farmers' co-operative elevators, with provincial financial support. Despite Partridge's continued opposition, the SGGA approved the Commission's plan at its annual meeting in February 1911. The Saskatchewan government had received the recommendation it desired; it quickly introduced a bill in the legislature to incorporate the "Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company." The bill was passed in March 1911.[63]

Partridge felt betrayed by the SGGA's shift in policy. He blamed W.R. Motherwell for having sabotaged his plan for publicly owned provincial elevators.

> *There is no doubt in my mind that with Mr. Motherwell out of the way, Premier Scott would have lent a more sympathetic ear to the request of the Grain Growers' made through their representatives last spring.*[64]

Inasmuch as Scott had already expressed his opposition to the concept of provincial elevators, Partridge's allegation was tenuous. He was, however, correct in identifying Motherwell as a major opponent of government enterprise. Motherwell's attitudes towards government ownership were well documented in a letter he wrote to J.H. Sheppard, Member of the Legislative Assembly for Moose Jaw, in 1908. Sheppard had written earlier to draw Motherwell's attention to the excessive distances that some of his constituents had been obliged to travel between their settlement and the town of Markinch. Sheppard suggested that the provincial government build a shelter to function as a "half-way house" for the settlers. In rejecting the proposal Motherwell stated that such an undertaking was best left to the private sector.

> *... I may as well candidly say that in all probability that before this condition of things is likely to exist for any length of time, that private enterprise will step in and provide the accommodation. In a new country such as this there is always a certain period of time during which the peoples' requirements are not fully provided for until business assumes such a proportion that some enterprising party is induced to go in and take the matter up. If the government was to step in every instance and provide every little want where are they going to get off at?*[65]

Motherwell stated that when he "was a pioneer we never dreamed of having such a provision being made for us" and that he believed that new settlers were "quite as capable of looking after themselves as we were."[66]

Philosophically, Motherwell and Partridge represented diametrically opposing points of view *vis-à-vis* the role of government in the economy. Vernon Fowke has noted that until well after the First World War the dominant Canadian collectivist principle of using government funds for developmental purposes was qualified with the "proviso that public ownership and management should be avoided at all costs."[67] Motherwell and Premier Scott subscribed to this approach. Believing farmers to be effective competitors in a free market, they conceived a minimal role for the government. Partridge believed that competition among farmers only served to erode their economic position. He envisaged government's more dynamic participation in the economy and the formal entrenchment of the co-operative principle. At the Farmers' Union convention in 1925, he stated in his address:

> *Cooperation, to an agricultural population, is the primary step towards that true cooperation which will embrace the various elements of society. The type of cooperation that I ultimately hope to see is the cooperation of all those who live and desire to live by useful labor, whether of hand or brain — the cooperative commonwealth. If you content yourselves with mere vocational cooperation, it seems to me that you stop short of the ideal that will really be effective in changing human relationships and making them satisfactory.*[68]

To appreciate why these divisions in the TGGA occurred it is necessary to analyze the structural basis of the movement. The most incisive structural analysis of prairie agrarian politics to date is C.B. Macpherson's *Democracy in Alberta*.[69] Macpherson believed that the political behaviour of prairie farmers was reducible to two main factors: the class basis of the western Canadian farm proprietor group, (a broadly based group of independent commodity producers) and its "quasi-colonial" status in relation to eastern Canada. Having identified the structural basis for a degree of class action (that is by a relatively homogeneous economic group of independent commodity producers), he defined the prairie farmer's relationship to the larger economic context. The wheat farmer, Macpherson observed, has occupied a precarious position between the spheres of capital and labour. He prides himself on this "independence," that is his nominal ownership of property and control over questions of production, specifically, what crops are to be raised and in what quantities. This element of independence within the confines of his farm has contributed to the farmer's perception that he is the master of his own fate, that he is an entrepreneur competing successfully in the overall free-enterprise economy. But the farmer does not employ labour on a scale that would permit him to compete on an equal footing with industry, commerce and finance. He is dependent upon large markets to purchase and transport his grain, to provide equipment and working materials for purchase and on borrowed capital. For these reasons his "independence" has been largely illusory.

Since the farmer's position is defined by market forces beyond his control, he occupies an inherently insecure position. In times of economic duress, this insecurity manifests itself in a recurrent radicalism. But since the farmer also maintains an illusion of independence, his essential conservatism re-asserts itself. This "oscillation between conservatism and radicalism," to use Macpherson's words, has characterized the prairie

farmers' response to economic and political questions that affect him. Macpherson writes of farmers:

> *... They cannot entirely identify themselves, or make permanent common cause, with either of the two classes. Yet, they are repeatedly driven by insecurity to find a solid basis somewhere. So they veer between attachment to one class and to the other; or rather, different sections of the whole class veer at different rates of speed and it may be in different directions at different times, depending on changes in their own position and on changes in the political outlook and action of the other classes.*[70]

Support for Macpherson's thesis is not difficult to find in the history of prairie agrarianism. In his study of early farmers' movements in Manitoba in the 1880s, Brian McCutcheon has shown that the outbreak of agrarian radicalism was directly related to immediate economic conditions. The convergence of a frosted crop and a marked drop in the price of grain, compounding long term discontent over inadequate rail service, precipitated the founding of the original Manitoba and North West Farmers' Union. McCutcheon points out that both the Union and its successor, the Manitoba and North West Farmers Co-operative and Protective Union, failed as a result of the membership of disparate and ultimately incompatible interest groups.[71]

An analysis of specific factors contributing to the outbreak of agrarian unrest in the Central Qu'Appelle area after 1900 indicates a repetition of the classic pattern. Here the precipitating issues were the grain bottleneck and reductions in the price of grain stemming from the "blockade." Confronted with a situation of economic duress, Qu'Appelle area farmers resorted to ephemeral radicalism. After achieving its limited objectives, the propertied agrarian middle class quickly reasserted its intrinsic conservatism.

At the same time, the post-1900 agitation did win some momentary successes. Several conditions had changed. Unlike the earlier farmers' movements, the TGGA was not weakened by the membership of non-farmers within its ranks, a factor which had proved the undoing of the earlier Protective Union. It was also strengthened by the non-partisan nature of its leadership. W.R. Motherwell, a Liberal, and Peter Dayman, a Conservative, had taken pains to ensure that both persons signed the original notices that spawned the founding meeting of the TGGA. In this way they averted the charge that the association was politically moti-

vated. The TGGA also addressed itself to a limited range of practical reforms that could feasibly be supported and implemented by the government.

Additional factors assisted the development of a broader basis for united class action by farmers in the post-1900 movement. First, a high level of communication among farmers facilitated a general awareness of issues. Communication links in the pre-telephone and radio era were ordinarily severely restricted, but the grain bottleneck in 1901 had obliged farmers to congregate at market centres along the CPR line while they waited to ship their grain. While aggravating frustrations, the blockade occasioned the airing of grievances and the exchange of information. It was, therefore, fairly easy for agrarian activists to recruit members, organize meetings, and mobilize a broad cross-section of farmers to their cause. In this way, John Sibbold and John Millar were able to organize the "indignation meeting" of October 1901 simply by approaching farmers in the long queues around Indian Head's elevators.

Another ingredient in the agrarian success after 1901 was the development of a sufficient class consciousness to permit a unified front, however temporary. Farmers had witnessed how divisions in their ranks contributed to the Patrons' defeat in 1896. At that time many had turned to the Liberal Party, whose electoral policy of reduced tariffs undermined the Patrons' platform.[72] After the failure of Canadian negotiators at the Canadian-American Joint High Commission of 1898-99 to win any important trade concessions, western farmers felt betrayed. They had expected a more positive redress of their grievances from the Dominion Liberals than the Conservatives. Farmers north of the Qu'Appelle River, who for 12 years had petitioned the Dominion Conservative government unsuccessfully for local rail service, found after 1896 that the Liberals were equally unresponsive to their demands. The petition that Motherwell and his neighbours sent to Prime Minister Laurier in 1898 indicated the depth of frustration the settlers felt.[73] Despite the CPR's assumption of the Great North West Central Railway Company's charter that year, no construction on the Kirkella branch line had been started at the time of the agrarian outbreak three years later. This long-festering wound was reopened by the grain blockade. Not only did farmers have to haul their wheat 20 to 30 miles to the rail head, they now could not market it. A shared perception of exploitation by eastern interests had crystallized the farmer's formerly inchoate resentment into a consciousness of the need for collective action.

The post-1900 TGGA leaders were in a position to tap deep-rooted agrarian hostility towards corporate interests. In 1886 farmers met at

Balcarres to consider the possibility of building a co-operative grist mill. John Teece argued that millers in the North-West Territories were "robbing" the farmers, by giving them only 25 to 30 pounds of flour per bushel of wheat, whereas farmers in Ontario or England received 40 to 45 pounds for the same weight.[74] In 1899 Abernethy farmers met to protest the practices of the Manitoba Farmers' Mutual Hail Insurance Company, which they believed had swindled them. A three-member committee, which included W.R. Motherwell, drafted a statement of grievance. One of their assertions was "that from the word 'go' this Mutual Hail Co. has had in view the comfortable fleece of the farmers ...."[75] The farmers' response was particularly hostile towards implement companies, who could seize their tools if they defaulted on a note payment. In an editorial the *Regina Leader* claimed that no calamity could be compared to the spectacle of settlers "with the blood suckers of the lawyers at their veins and the fangs of cold and terrible corporations in their flesh."[76] These hyperbolic statements are indicative of the depth of the farmers' antagonism towards business. Well before the 1901 grain blockade, this anti-corporate sentiment provided fertile ground for agrarian agitation.

The agrarian unrest may also have been to some extent the product of psychological factors. In his study of modern homesteaders in the United States, Evon Vogt has emphasized the essentially optimistic orientation of the farmers' outlook, which he defined as "hopeful mastery over nature."[77] As Abernethy farmers are fond of pointing out, the western Canadian farmer is a "gambler."[78] He risks all of his investment on a wager — that favourable growing and harvesting conditions and prices of farm products will converge in a kind of windfall. After years of experiencing either crop failure or price fall, the farmer insulates himself from disillusionment with fatalism. Resigned yet optimistic, the prairie wheat grower once again banks all on the next year's crop. In the settlement period, farmers repeatedly took out short-term notes for their implements, which almost invariably came due at harvest time. The farmers' hopes — and debts — were indefinitely deferred until "next year."

By 1900 Abernethy area farmers had improved substantial acreages and had begun to invest in farm buildings, machinery, and new land. As noted in Chapter III, many went into debt to finance these improvements. At the very moment, when it appeared that prosperity had arrived — the bumper crop of 1901 — farmers were frustrated by the CPR's inability to move it.

Despite a somewhat more highly developed degree of agrarian consciousness in the farmers' movements of the early 1900s, differences in economic interest ultimately drove a wedge between different socio-

economic strata. An analysis of the composition of the first Board of Directors of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association[79] shows that the prime movers of the association were from the upper stratum of the farming population. W.R. Motherwell, the first president, possessed a farm of 800 acres, an elegant Victorian house, and an impressive farmstead. Two Indian Head Directors, Walter Govan and John Millar, the latter the Association's secretary, had each participated in land speculation in the Abernethy district.[80] Elmer Shaw and Peter Dayman were also two of the more prosperous Abernethy settlers at the turn of the century.[81] Most notably, farmers in the Indian Head and Abernethy districts possessed land with rich clay soils.[82] As Chapter III indicates, by the early 1930s farmers in these areas had amassed an average capital more than twice as large as the provincial average. Far from being a representative group, the early leaders of the TGGA represented a comparatively privileged elite. Once this group had settled its immediate objectives, it turned away from radical action and even began to resist it.

The more radical approach of E.A. Partridge and the Sintaluta group may well have been related to their occupancy of a somewhat lower economic stratum than their Abernethy counterparts. Twelve of the original 15 members of the Preliminary Organization Committee of Sintaluta Farmers can be identified on a 1906 map of land tenure in the central Qu'Appelle area.[83] Their land holdings ranged widely between one and eight quarter-sections, although some of the larger farms of this group included considerable tracts of non-productive land. Four of Partridge's five quarter-sections were partly broken up by coulée or creek-beds, for example. At least two quarters of his neighbour David Railton's seven quarter-sections were similarly suitable only for grazing. Overall the average farm size among the 12 Sintaluta farmers was 640 acres, but it must be noted that most of these farms possessed second-class loam soils. Further evidence of their somewhat more modest economic position *vis-à-vis* the Abernethy TGGA leaders may be discerned by investigating the houses in which the two groups lived. On the whole, the Abernethy farmers, such as W.R. Motherwell, James Morrison, and W.H. Ismond, occupied larger, more elegant residences than those of Partridge and his colleagues.

While the foregoing analysis helps explain why W.R. and other early agrarian leaders initially embraced collective action, and then abandoned it, it does not account for the Dominion government's accession to the TGGA demands. In approaching this question it is fruitful to draw on V.C. Fowke's well-documented studies of the formation of federal agricultural policy in the period.[84] Fowke has shown that the early agricultural royal

commissions, which were created in the context of the agrarian unrest around 1900, were dominated by farm members. The Commission of 1899-1900 comprised three Manitoba farmers under the chairmanship of an Ontario judge, Mr. Justice Senklar. Senklar resigned for health reasons but his successor, A.E. Richards, was from Winnipeg. Fowke notes that the records of this commission show that C.C. Castle, one of the farm members, dominated its deliberations. Similarly, the Royal Commission of 1906 consisted of three western farmers, including John Millar, the chairman. Millar, it should be remembered, was an organizer and the first secretary of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association. Hence, the composition of the first agricultural royal commissions was strongly weighted in the farmers' favour.

Fowke attributes the Dominion government's appointment of commission members sympathetic to the farmers' cause to the as yet unrealized goals of the National Policy. In the context of its promotion of western settlement, Laurier's government perceived that reforms in grain handling were essential to the continued expansion of Western Canada:

> *... The federal government supported the western protest against monopoly in the grain trade as soon as it became convinced that such monopoly would stifle rather than promote, western expansion and would thus imperil the national policy. From 1899 the federal government used royal commissions ... chiefly for the purpose of getting this protest on the record .... So sure was the Dominion government of what it wanted to be forced to do that it would entrust to no one but farmers that task of manning its early agricultural commissions.*[85]

Despite the weighting of the early agricultural royal commissions towards responding to the agrarian agitation, the Dominion government was also careful to choose members who could be counted on not to recommend the option of government ownership.[86] For example, John Millar, the chairman of the 1906 Commission, was recruited from the wealthier, and hence, more conservative elements of the farming population.

In view of these facts, the package of grain handling reforms initiated by prairie farmers in the late 1890s and early 1900s appears in rather a different light than the idealistic picture presented by Hopkins Moorehouse and D.G. Hall. W.R. Motherwell and other agrarian activists were catalysts in pressing the Dominion government to remove some of the worst abuses of the system, but their successes were largely attributable

to the larger aims of the still unrealized National Policy. Not wishing to risk a curtailment of immigration that would surely result from continued agitation, the Laurier government was anxious to demonstrate its responsiveness to farmers at least at this minimum level.

The amended Manitoba Grain Act did nothing to alter the basic structural anomalies that ensured the prairie farmers' continued subordinate status. The principal features of the National Policy, that is the tariff system and western regional dependency on the matrix of eastern financial, manufacturing and transportation interests were continued intact. V.C. Fowke has demonstrated that the agrarian leaders' capacity to influence public agricultural policy tailed off significantly after the high water mark of agrarian success in the grain trade regulation in the decade 1910 to 1920.[87] Moreover, the disproportionate weighting of benefits from the Grain Act amendments ensured that at least the upper stratum of the class of farm proprietors was sufficiently appeased to limit its agitation. As earlier discussion has shown, the competitive position of poorer farmers had in fact been eroded by the grain handling amendments and the Anglo-Canadian agrarian organizations sponsored reforms that reflected their own interests. While western Canadian farmers overall experienced an inordinate transfer of their surplus product to corporate, and principally eastern interests, the revenues they did receive were divided unequally. The farmers' illusory view of themselves as independent entrepreneurs competing effectively in the Canadian economy, coupled with divisions of economic interest within their own ranks, limited the effectiveness of the agrarian agitation.

IX. CONCLUSION

Between 1880 and 1920 the early Ontarian settlers at Abernethy established social structures reflecting their political and economic dominance in prairie society. By virtue of hard work, perseverance, and the central advantage of having arrived first, they transformed the Pheasant Plains into a prosperous, settled farming community. Many of these early settlers began farming with little capital. Farming in the initial period was often a part-time proposition and did not assume the dimensions of full-fledged market activity until the settler had accumulated a sufficient base of improved land, buildings and implements. By 1900 the settlers who had persisted as farmers had begun to display the signs of affluence which marked them as a successful entrepreneurial class.

While the established Abernethy farmers benefited from increased wheat prices after 1900, their economic success was largely attributable to the capital gains that accrued as land prices jumped rapidly in this period. Freed to some extent of the economic insecurity that plagued subsequent settlement groups, the Ontarian settlers pursued their political and social goals. To a significant degree, they succeeded in replicating the social structures and relationships that had prevailed in Eastern Canada.

Within the dominant class of independent farm proprietors, individual members were differentiated by significant variations in farm size and accumulated capital. A number of factors served initially to reduce social stratification within this group. Before 1914 the idealization of the yeoman farmer conferred upon most independent producers of the desired ethnicity a somewhat privileged social status. One's status could be enhanced by noteworthy farming success or diminished by poor management and profligate habits. In the early homesteading period the community was too sparsely populated and dispersed to permit the establishment of rigidly differentiated social levels. Social interaction tended to be tied to work or community service activities. Out of necessity neighbours often worked together during the busy seeding and harvest

seasons in the spring and late summer. One's neighbour might be of a somewhat lesser status, but the shared experience of working together in the fields temporarily lessened social barriers.

This is not to suggest that Abernethy society was ultimately egalitarian. Once the settlers established themselves successfully they built impressive Victorian homes that served as status symbols. The spatial layouts of their dwellings indicated a propensity on the part of the Ontarians to recreate formal and stratified concepts of social intercourse that had prevailed in the parent province. Other physical icons of status, including the Motherwells' silver tea service and elegant formal dress, indicate how far some of the transplanted Ontarian farmers chose to go to distance themselves from their humble homestead beginnings.

These stratified concepts showed up most clearly in relations between the class of farm proprietors and the wage labourer group. Farm labourers possessed little status or recognized position in Ontarian prairie society. Their non-status was particularly evident in the case of hired girls, who were seldom included in family activities and whose long and arduous working days were often poorly compensated. In most cases, hired girls from European settlements or Indian reserves had little alternative but to work under the existing conditions until they were married.

Hired men, who hoped to become farmers at some point, occupied an equally insecure and transient position. Often they worked for a farmer for a year or two, during which time they acquired the money and knowledge to attempt a homestead entry themselves. Since all the arable homestead lands in settled areas had long since been claimed, and lands offered for purchase were too expensive, these hired men were obliged to seek land on the periphery of settlement. Therefore they did not often remain in the community long enough to establish a presence. If they did remain, the hired men were constrained by a fairly rigid stratification between the propertied and the propertyless.

A further dichotomy existed in terms of the relative social, economic and political positions of the province's various ethnic groups. Settlers of non-Anglo-Saxon origin experienced considerable difficulty in breaking into the power structure established by the earlier Anglo-Saxon immigrants, in part because they were not in an economic position to be able to devote time or resources to political involvement. At the same time, the European immigrants were at a comparative disadvantage in terms of lacking Dominion Lands privileges and access to lands of good soil quality on the open prairie. Preoccuppied with eking out a marginal living, the first two generations of Eastern Europeans continued to live on the periphery of the social structure. Not until well after the First World

War were significant numbers of non-Anglo-Saxons elected to the provincial legislative assembly.

Indian and Métis residents occupied a more marginal position. These groups were effectively shunted aside by treaty, scrip grants or fraud as a prelude to sustained white settlement. In the Abernethy area, treaty Indians at the nearby File Hills reserves were at least able to fall back on their reserve lands as a basis for subsistence and were fairly successful in pursuing self-sufficient agriculture. No such reserve existed for the Métis, who, since displaced from their lands, lived in continual economic insecurity.

The Anglo-Canadian settlement group possessed its own cultural dynamics and placed its stamp on rural prairie society in a number of distinctive ways. Ontarian social institutions including churches, fraternal orders, agricultural societies, mechanics' institutes, temperance groups, and agrarian political organizations, to name but a few, were transplanted in rather complete form to the prairie. Through the medium of these institutions, the Ontarians laid the groundwork for the establishment of a new prairie society according to their values.

The irony was that the particular Ontarian consciousness that envisaged a prosperous transplanted eastern Canadian society on the prairies was turned against the parent province when this dream was not fully realized. For farmers who had been raised in the heyday of Ontarian expansionist zeal and confidence, the myth of independent yeomanry died hard. Farm protest movements, such as W.R. Motherwell's Territorial Grain Growers' Association, attempted to stem the tide toward increasing concentration of power in the East. To some extent farmers were able to mitigate the worst effects of monopoly in the grain handling and transportation industries. Lacking sufficient economic and political power to challenge the existing structure, they opted for pragmatic solutions that sought merely to regulate these industries. Moreover, by undermining the grain marketing opportunities of poorer farmers, the amendments reinforced differences in economic and political power even within the dominant Anglo-Canadian group.

While it is possible to define the social structure that emerged in Abernethy at the turn of the century, it is important to recognize the essentially ephemeral nature of its respective groupings. As sociologist Rodolfo Stavenhagen has noted, social class is above all an historical category. Classes are found in "specific historical formations," that is, they develop from the structural conditions in society.[1] Abernethy's structures were markedly short-lived due to particular circumstances in its evolution. The community developed in the twilight of the Victorian

era, when the contradictions of the Victorians' assumptions regarding society were already becoming increasingly untenable in the context of rather pronounced stratification and reduced social mobility in eastern Canada. In a sense, the Canadian West offered the last "safety valve" for the continuation of 19th-century ideals of individual enterprise and unfettered exploitation of resources. So long as an open frontier of settlement persisted, Canadians could avoid reconciling the contradiction between the "myth of the self-made man" and an increasingly closed social framework.

Figure 31 schematically represents Abernethy's social and economic structure for the period 1880-1920. It indicates Abernethy's more successful farmers were not really the "upper class" since under the National Policy all prairie farmers were subordinate to the central Canadian business domination of the wheat economy. Rather, they were part of the upper stratum of the farm proprietor group. By employing hired labour and farming extensive holdings, Abernethy farmers were relatively prosperous. Despite periodic outbursts against perceived corporate oppressors, they endeavoured to emulate the material culture of the business class which suggests they identified socially with this group. Abernethy farmers' "conspicious consumption" was a cheaper version of

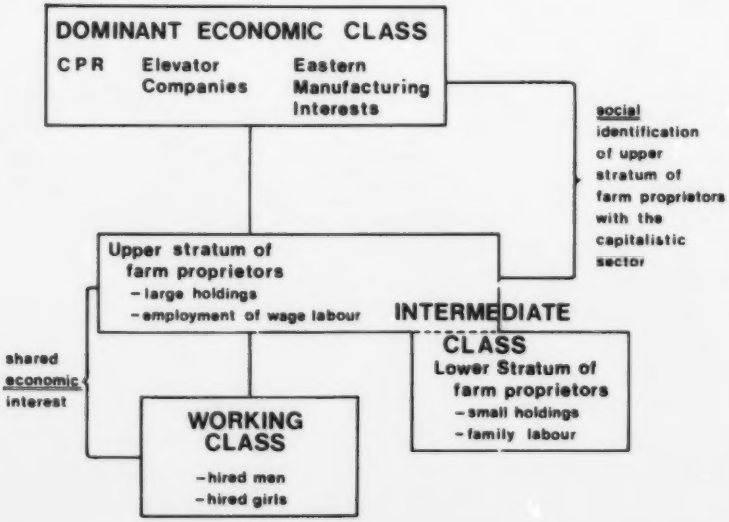


Fig. 31. Schematic representation of Abernethy's social and economic structure.

the lifestyle of the dominant class. It announced that they, too, had "made good." Actually, in the long run their economic interests were probably closer to those of the poorer farmers and farm labourers. Following the two-class model introduced in Chapter V, these farm proprietor groups may be viewed collectively as an intermediate, transitional class. This class was essential to the capital accumulation envisioned in the National Policy, but under relentless assault of the price system it was short-lived.

The First World War represented a turning point in the social and economic structure of the prairie provinces. Many of the contradictory elements of Edwardian prairie society could no longer be reconciled as the old Victorian social order gave way to modern realities. Economically the war brought about a more complete integration of prairie agriculture into the national economy than had previously been the case. With the carrot of rapidly increasing agricultural prices before them, western farmers eagerly responded to the Dominion government's call for increased wheat production. Despite W.R. Motherwell's exhortations not to deplete their soils by overcropping, many farmers continuously cultivated wheat crops throughout the war period. Soil exhaustion was reflected in ever-diminishing yields,[2] but the farmers' revenues briefly maintained their high levels only because higher agricultural prices offset the reduced production. Many farmers, who had purchased land and implements at inflated prices during the war, found themselves burdened with excessive mortgage and loan payments in the early 1920s. Continuing low prices in that decade obliged many debt-ridden farmers to default on their financial commitments and to quit farming altogether. The well-established farmers were thus able to capitalize on their neighbours' failures and add to their holdings cheaply. By the early 1930s the effects of this consolidation of farm lands were manifest in the dramatic increase in average farm size in Abernethy and other farm districts.

While prairie farmers were slow to mechanize their operations during the First World War, a rapid switch to gasoline tractors occurred in the succeeding decade. This change was partly attributable to improvements in tractor design that translated into demonstrably improved efficiency and effectiveness. Generally, the switch to tractors both permitted and resulted from the consolidation of farms into larger units, enabling and then necessitating the capacity to work larger acreages more economically. Accordingly, the process of mechanization reduced the need for farm labourers, whose ranks became increasingly thin after 1930.

The passing of the era of small farms in which the 160-acre homestead was the basic unit represented a partial resolution of the contradiction between two themes that had accompanied prairie agricul-

ture from the outset. The myth of the independent yeoman farmer, self-sufficient in providing a lifestyle and livelihood for himself and his family, was in direct opposition to the reality of accelerating consolidation of farming into large market-oriented units. Richard Hofstadter has observed of American farmers of the same era:

> *The American farmer was unusual in the agricultural world in the sense that he was running a mechanized and commercialized agricultural unit of a size far greater than the small proprietary holdings common elsewhere, and yet he was running it as a family enterprise on the assumption that the family could supply not only the necessary capital and managerial talent but also most of the labour.*[3]

While the more marginal farm operators were continually being forced out in the process of modernization, the social structure was sufficiently unstable that even members of the upper stratum were similarly vulnerable. The Motherwell family is a case in point. Motherwell's son Talmage moved off his father's farm in 1913. The recipient of two quarter-sections from his father, Talmage was promptly written out of his will. He had married Marian Diehl, the daughter of German immigrant parents from Minnesota and a future Christian Scientist. Thereafter, Talmage's family seldom visited Lanark Place. It seems probable that Motherwell's vision of ethnic and religious tolerance was put to a severe test by this marriage.

Talmage, for his part, was not an entrepreneur in the manner of his father. By all accounts he was a good family man, well-liked by his neighbours. He did not expand his half-section inheritance, but concentrated on providing dairy milk for the village population. His nondescript stucco farm house, surrounded by a modicum of rudimentary landscaping, stood in sharp contrast to his father's elegant farmstead a mile down the road.

Talmage became a farmer in a period of decreasing opportunities in settled agricultural areas. Land prices had skyrocketed in the previous decade, and few persons, unless they homesteaded in the fringe areas of settlement or inherited land from their fathers, could afford to start farming. Talmage's operation of his half-section farm represented a holding action, common among second generation farmers, that persisted for some time. Yet Talmage's more modest ambitions also signified a fundamental shift in values in rural prairie society. Dick Harrison, in a comparative study of the fictional literature of homesteading on the American and

Canadian plains, has noted the failures of domestic life occasioned by the pioneer experience. The settlers in the fiction of Ole Rolvaag and Frederick Philip Grove are "proud, stubborn, ambitious men, whose will to conquer is excited by the space and openness of the prairie."[4] Obsessed with their visions of prosperity and success, both Abe Spalding and Per Hansen were somewhat incapable of dealing with domestic affairs and of

> *... creating the homes that should have been the purpose of those visionary mansions. Abe and Per have brought to the prairies reluctant wives, tempermentally, who deteriorate physically or mentally as their husbands forge the material parts of their visions.*[5]

To an extent these fictionalized accounts of the settlement experience, particularly Grove's, represent forces at work at the Motherwell farm and thousands of other homesteads in Western Canada. Motherwell's first wife, Adeline, never strong physically and worn out by two decades of arduous labour on the homestead, succumbed to asthma in 1905. Motherwell's remarriage to Catherine Gillespie in 1908 brought to the farm a strong personality who was much better suited to the role of a cabinet minister's wife. But Talmage's departure in 1913 dashed Motherwell's hopes of leaving his farm to a male heir who would preserve his lineage. Like Abe Spalding, Motherwell must have experienced the profound disappointment of an Ontarian settler who had come west to rise in the social structure, only to see that his success would die with him. As Ian Clarke has noted, his son's marriage to a woman of non-Anglo-Saxon background presumably was another signal that the anticipated Anglo-Canadian hegemony in Saskatchewan was already in decline.[6]

Motherwell's Lanark Place in 1912 was an excellent example of a prosperous Ontarian prairie settler's farmstead at its peak. Its six quarter-sections comprised one of the largest farms in Abernethy, a rich wheat-growing district. The farm was crowned by a handsome stone house and impressively landscaped grounds, replete with lawn tennis court, ornamental flower beds and cropped hedges. To complete the picture of bucolic harmony, Motherwell possessed a family of considerable promise and achievement. His wife Catherine's achievements as a teacher, missionary and promoter of women's rights were outstanding in their own right. His son Talmage had studied agriculture at the colleges in both Saskatoon and Guelph, and his daughter Alma had completed one year of her Normal School Training. The farm also boasted two hired men and two hired girls, who, supplemented by seasonal staff, performed the bulk

of manual labour on the farm. It was all the young settler from Ontario in 1882 could have hoped to achieve.

The farm in fact embodied all of the strengths and weaknesses of the Victorian Ontario mind-set that Motherwell had brought with him to the North-West. The obvious conspicuous consumption of Lanark Place reflected a preoccupation with status that seemed inappropriate even for a prominent member of the upper stratum of this Edwardian farming community. The elaborate grounds belied the considerable expense entailed in their upkeep. It seems probable that after his ascension to political office, Motherwell's farming operations never fully underwrote the expense of maintaining the showpiece farm and that he dipped into his ministerial salary to maintain it.

The year 1912, then, was a snapshot in time. It was a brief interlude between the early development of Ontarian society on the prairies and its subsequent erosion by forces greater than the settlers themselves could envisage. In restoring his homestead to its appearance in that year the Canadian Parks Service of Environment Canada is commemorating not only W.R. Motherwell's career, but also the central Canadian settlement group he represented. When, in 1966, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada recommended that Motherwell be recognized as a figure of national historic significance, it also proposed that his farm be preserved to illustrate the home of a "typical prairie settler." This book has modified that initial perception. Motherwell was not typical of all settlers, but in important respects was representative of the upper stratum of independent farm proprietors within the dominant Ontarian settlement group. In this regard, he represents a group that has had an enormous impact in making western Canadian society what it is today.

APPENDIX A. RESEARCH DESIGN FOR THE QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF ABERNETHY SETTLEMENT HISTORY

by David Greenwood, Prairie Region

The quantitative analysis presented in Chapter I was composed of the following steps:

Data capture and verification
Data analysis
Data interpretation.

The *data capture and verification* consisted of recording on computer coding sheets information from: microfilmed Saskatchewan Department of the Interior Homestead Files; Surveyor's Township maps; 1938 Soil Survey; and topographical maps which were used to measure distances to railways and supply centres. Overall information was obtained from 461 entries in the Homestead Files and consisted of recording a total of 104 variables, according to a code book that was prepared to ensure consistent coding. The information on the sheets was then checked against the source documents to ensure accuracy, and to determine the interpretation used by the coder during situations not identified in the code book or in the notes accompanying the coding sheets. After this coding verification, the data were keypunched on computer cards and then two computer programs were run. The first printed a copy of the raw data from the cards and the second printed a frequency table for each of the 104 variables. These frequency tables provided a first level of analysis and were also used to check for extraneously coded values. For example, in considering the variable Range, it could only be assigned a value of 8 or 11. Therefore if we obtained a value of 6, we knew it was incorrect.

The printed data were then examined. A random sample of records was drawn and these were compared to the appropriate coding sheets. Any

incorrectly coded values were identified and corrected on the cards. The two programs were then rerun. The first to give a reference copy of the raw data. The second created nine new variables:

i) number of years between entry and application/cancellation for patent;
ii) number of years between when homesteader started to break land and application/cancellation;
iii) average number of acres broken per year;
iv) average number of acres cropped per year;
v) average number of cows;
vi) average number of horses;
vii) average number of sheep;
viii) average number of pigs;
ix) a variable, calculated from the Ethnicity and Geographic Range variables, which could take the four possible values of British Range 8, Non-British Range 8, British Range 11 and Non-British Range 11. The output from this second program consisted of frequency tables for the 113 variables and can also be used as a reference document.

The remainder of the *data analysis* consisted of running computer programs using the Statistical Analysis System (S.A.S.) computer package. The S.A.S. procedures used include:

Frequencies provided the frequency tables as described previously and was used to generate various *cross-tabulations* which provide insights into the similarities or differences between specific sub-groups of the data set such as British in Range 11 versus Non-British in Range 8.

Means calculated the means of specified variables, such as year of entry, year of application and average number of children per family and was run for the entire data set and for specific groups of files in the data set. For example, the average year of entry for the Abernethy area was 1890 and for the Neudorf area was 1896.

Sort was used to sort the data set alphabetically according to the variables specified, for example LAST NAME. This SORT procedure facilitated the remainder of the analysis as the more complex S.A.S. procedures require the data set to be arranged in some type of sequence in order to analyze subgroups of the data set.

The remaining procedures attempted to find a regression model which could explain some of the variation in the year of entry for homestead application in the study areas. The criterion used examined the

amount of variability in the year of entry which is accounted for by the different values of the other variables included in the model and is measured by the statistic R2, the square of the multiple correlation coefficient. An example of a simple regression is to consider the change in the year of entry with relationship to the change in another variable such as distance to the railway. In this case we consider the later settlement of land as the distance to the railway increases.

R square was used to provide information on variables which could be included in a multiple regression model. Numerous variables were specified (usually eight or nine at a time) and combinations of these variables were used as input to this procedure which calculates the portion of the variability in the dependent variable, in this case the year of entry explained by the model specified, and allows to specify numerous possible models at one time. The most appropriate model or models were then chosen for further investigation. In this case the model chosen contained the variables *range, township, distance to railway at entry, distance to railway at application and distance to supply centres.*

GLM (General Linear Models) was used to estimate the coefficients in the model which was deemed most appropriate in the R square procedure. A test of significance was run in order to determine if the estimates of the coefficients were significantly different from zero, and as expected from the **R square** procedure we found that they were indeed significantly different from zero.

ENDNOTES

Abbreviations

DLB	Dominion Lands Bureau
NA	National Archives of Canada
PAM	Provincial Archives of Manitoba
Parks-PNRO	Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service, Prairie and Northern Regional Office
SABR	Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina
SABS	Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon
SC	Statutes of Canada, Ottawa

Preface

1 Nathaniel Benson, *None of It Came Easy: The Story of James Garfield Gardiner* (Toronto: Burns, 1955).

2 Annie I. Yule, *Grit and Growth: The Story of Grenfell* (Grenfell, Saskatchewan: United Church Women's Committee, 1967).

3 Ivor J. Mills, *Stout Hearts Stand Tall* (Vancouver: author published, 1971).

4 See Allan R. Turner, "W.R. Motherwell and Agricultural Development in Saskatchewan, 1905-1918," M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1958; and Leonard J. Edwards, "W.R. Motherwell and the Crisis of Federal Liberalism in Saskatchewan, 1917-1926." M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1961.

5 David Spector, "Agriculture on the Prairies, 1870-1940" in *History and Archaeology/Histoire et archéologie*, No. 65 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1983).

I The Settlement of the Abernethy District

1 Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina [hereafter cited as SABR], Surveyors' Correspondence Series. Report of C.F. Miles, Toronto, to the Surveyor General, Ottawa, 17 January 1882.

2 Canada, *Dominion Lands Surveyors' Reports* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1886), p. 111.

3 Chester Martin, *"Dominion Lands" Policy*, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series, Vol. 2 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1938), p. 395.

4 *Statutes of Canada*, "An Act respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway," assented to 14 June 1872 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1873) [hereafter cited as SC], 35 Victoria, Cap. 71.

5 Chester Martin, *"Dominion Lands" Policy*, p. 415.

6 Vernon C. Fowke, *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 48.

7 James M. Richtik, "The Policy Framework for Settling the Canadian West, 1870-1880," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (October 1975), p. 617.

8 Ibid., p. 620.

9 "Homestead Regulations," *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 16 April 1897, p. 2.

10 Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada With the Indians* (Toronto: Belfords, Clarke & Co., 1880), pp. 77-125.

11 Provincial Archives of Manitoba [hereafter cited as PAM], Alexander Morris Papers, passim.

12 Articles of the Qu'Appelle Treaty, No. 4, in Morris, *Treaties* ..., pp. 330-35.

13 J.L. Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879-1885," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (December 1983), p. 547.

14 Contemporary surveyors' reports attest to the marginal nature of File Hills lands. See SABR, Report of C.F. Miles, op. cit. The primitive implements supplied to the Indians to cultivate these lands could hardly have facilitated rapid agricultural development.

15 See Jacqueline J. Kennedy, "Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White Rites for the Indians of the Old North-West." M.A. thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1970.

16 Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon [hereafter cited as SABS], Department of the Interior, Homestead File Nos. 406350 and 351-17 (files relating to the homestead of Culbert St. Denis).

17 Canada, Privy Council, Order-in-Council, P.C. 135-1885. *Report of a Committee of the Privy Council*, 28 January 1885; and Canada,

Privy Council, Order-in-Council, P.C. 821-1885. *Report of a Committee of the Privy Council*, 18 April, 1885 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1886).

18 SABS, Homestead File No. 97132, "Scrip issue by the North West Half Breed Commission in 1885 at Fort Qu'Appelle to holders of Water Fronts."

19 *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 21 January 1886, p. 4.

20 National Archives of Canada [hereafter cited as NA], RG15, Department of the Interior Records, Vol. 292, File No. 58906, Petition of Qu'Appelle Métis to the Hon. Edgar Dewdney, Lieutenant-Governor, N.W.T.

21 Ibid., Vol. 292, File 58906, The Hon. Edgar Dewdney to Sir John A. Macdonald, Minister of the Interior, 29 August 1882.

22 NA, RG15, Department of the Interior Records, Vol. 292, File No. 58906, John R. Hall, Acting Secretary, Dept. of the Interior, to Hon. Edgar Dewdney, N.W.T., 6 July 1883.

23 Ibid.

24 NA, RG15, Department of the Interior Records, Vol. 229, File No. 63883.

25 SABS, Homestead File No. 118650, Norbert Welsh, Lebret, to the Hon. Edgar Dewdney, 5 June 1886, Transcription.

26 Ibid., A.E. Forget, Clerk of Council, N.W.T. to the Deputy Minister of the Interior, 24 June 1886.

27 Ibid., Report of W.A. Clarke, Fort Qu'Appelle to the Hon. Edgar Dewdney, 3 December 1886.

28 Canada, Department of Agriculture, Indian Head Experimental Research Station. "Map of Indian Head and Adjacent District," ca. 1906.

29 Interview with Hugh Stueck, by Lyle Dick, Abernethy, Sask., 18 April 1979. Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service, Prairie and Northern Regional office [hereafter cited as Parks-PNRO].

30 Georgina Binnie-Clark, *Wheat and Women* (Toronto: Bell and Cockburn, 1914), p. 166.

31 Angelina H. Campbell, *Man! Man! Just Look at That Land!* (Saskatoon: n.p., 1966), p. 11.

32 See the Journal of John Allen, one of the original settlers on the Primitive Methodist Colony northeast of Abernethy, which describes the trek west in detail. SABR, M. Film 2.171.

33 For Western Canada, a general starting-off point is W.L. Morton's article, "The Significance of Site in the Settlement of the American

and Canadian Wests," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 25 (1951), pp. 97-104.

34 Michael Conzen, *Frontier Farming in an Urban Shadow: The Influence of Madison's Proximity on Agriculture Development of Blooming Grove, Wisconsin* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1971).

35 Data on the dates of entry for the study townships were obtained from the Township Registers of the Saskatchewan Department of Agriculture, Lands Branch, Regina.

36 See André N. Lalonde, "The North-West Rebellion and Its Effects on Settlers and Settlement in the Canadian West," *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Autumn 1974), pp. 95-102.

37 See Lottie Meek's unpublished note on the early history of the Blackwood District, Saskatchewan, 1955, pp. 3, 4. Copy held by Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service, Prairie Region, Library.

38 *Melville Advance*, 29 June 1955, p. 1.

39 Don C. McGowan, *Grassland Settlers, The Swift Current Region During the Era of the Ranching Frontier* (Regina: Canada Plains Research Centre, 1975), p. 49.

40 NA, RG17, Department of Agriculture Records, Vol. 466, File No. 51015, Annual Report of A.J. Baker, Immigration Agent, Qu'Appelle to the Minister of Agriculture, 31 December 1885.

41 A.S. Morton, *History of Prairie Settlement*. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series (Toronto: Macmillan, 1938), Vol. 2, p. 84.

42 *Census of Population and Agriculture of the North West Provinces, Manitoba ..., 1885* and *Census of Canada, 1891* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1886 and 1892).

43 Report of William Pearce, Dominion Lands Inspector, 31 October 1882, in Canada, Parliament, *Sessional Papers*, 46 Victoria, 1883, Cap. 23, p. 7.

44 NA, RG15, Department of the Interior Records, Vol. 326, File No. 80391 (2), Report of Rufus Stevenson, Inspector to A. Walsh, Dominion Lands Commissioner, 4 December 1884.

45 Ibid., File 80391 (1) A, Rufus Stevenson to Smith, Dominion Lands Commissioner, 11 January 1886.

46 "Pheasant Plains," *Qu'Appelle Progress*, 1 January 1885, p. 3.

47 NA, RG15, Department of the Interior Records, Vol. 247, File No. 25149-2.

48 Ibid., "To His Excellency the Governor-General of Canada in Council," Received, Dept. of Interior, 10 July 1885.

49 SABS, Department of the Interior, Orders-in-Council, 1885. Microfilm No. 6.1, p. 307.

50 Ibid., p. 645.

51 NA, RG15, Department of the Interior Records, Vol. 247, File 25149-4, "The Petition of the President and the Directors representing the present Shareholders in the Great North West Central Railway Company to His Excellency the Governor General of Canada in Council."

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 Gustavus Myers, *A History of Canadian Wealth*, Vol. 1 (Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1972), p. 286.

55 PAM, MG4, B4, Sir Wilfrid Laurier Papers, Vol. 224, fols. 63029-63032, Petition of Abernethy Settlers to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 2 February 1902.

56 *The Abernethan* (Abernethy), 23 August 1905, p. 1.

57 Ibid., 30 August 1905, p.1.

58 SABS, Homestead File No. 36741, Jacob Popp to the Dominion Lands Commissioner respecting his homestead (S.W. 1/4 of Section 32, Township 20, Range 8, West of the 2nd Meridian), 30 October 1894.

59 Ibid., File No. 510548, B.P. Richardson, D.L.S. Officer, Grenfell, to the Dominion Lands Commissioner respecting the application of Philip Tempel and John Pipher, 27 December 1892.

60 Ibid., File No. 455760, Karl Adolf, Pheasant Forks, to the Dominion Lands Commissioner, 8 January 1898. See also the Declaration of Abandonment of Ludwig Hollinger and Frank Wirth in SABS, Homestead File Nos. 698266 and 795174.

61 Interview with Richard A. Acton by Lyle Dick, Parks-PNRO, 24 June 1979. Mr. Acton, born in 1894, is the son of Samuel Acton who homesteaded in Township 19, Range 9, west 2nd Meridian.

62 Ibid.

63 Interview with John Mann, born 1896. Cited in Janice Acton (comp.), *Lemberg Local History* (Lemberg, Saskatchewan: n.p., 1972), pp. 111-15.

64 Ibid.

65 NA, RG15, Department of the Interior Records, Vol. 724, File No. 394194, Extract of letter from Senator W.D. Perley, Wolseley, N.W.T., to the Department of the Interior dated 29 November 1895.

66 *Regina Leader*, 13 September 1894, p. 8.
67 SABR, *Cummins Rural Directories*, 1915-1918.
68 Interview with Richard A. Acton, in Lemberg, Saskatchewan, by Lyle Dick, Parks-PNRO, 27 June 1979.
69 Canada, Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for 1896*. Part 4, "Immigration" or see Canada, Parliament, *Sessional Papers*, 60 Victoria, 1897, Vol. 13.
70 Ibid.
71 SC, "An Act to Amend the Dominion Lands Act," assented to 19 April 1884, 47 Victoria, Cap. 25, S. 2, p. 104.
72 See Canada, Parliament, *House of Commons Debates*, 25 April 1889 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1890), pp. 1537-38.
73 SABS, Homestead File No. 227164. Memorial of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories to the Honourable Minister of the Interior, Regina, 21 November 1889.
74 SC, "An Act further to amend the Dominion Lands Act," assented to 9 July 1892. 56-7 Victoria, Cap. 15, S. 4, pp. 75, 76.
75 SABS, Homestead File No. 461413, Synopsis of contents of letter from Karl Hopp, Neudorf, Assiniboia, to the Commissioner of Dominion Lands, 27 December 1898.
76 Ibid., L. Pereira, Assistant Secretary, Dominion Lands Branch, to Karl Hopp, 13 January 1899.
77 Ibid., Homestead File No. 3677410, Jacob Popp, Neudorf, Assiniboia, to the Dominion Lands Commissioner, 30 October 1894.
78 Ibid., File No. 461413, Report of Neil G. McCallum, Homestead Inspector, 2 August 1899.
79 Ibid., File No. 511449.
80 Ibid., File No. 555277, L. Pereira to J. Adolf, 6 April 1895.
81 Ibid., File No. 463816, G. Balfour to the Minister of the Interior, 28 February 1889.
82 Ibid., File No. 126610.

II Homesteading Costs in the Abernethy District, 1882-1914

1 Robert E. Ankli and Robert M. Litt, "The Growth of Prairie Agriculture: Economic Considerations," in Donald H. Akenson (ed.), *Canadian Papers in Rural History* (Gananoque, Ont.: Langdale Press, 1978), Vol. 1, pp. 35-64.
2 David Gagan, "Land Population and Social Change: The 'Critical Years' in Rural Canada West," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 59, No. 3 (1978), pp. 295-318; and "The Indivisibility of Land in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 36

(1976), pp. 126-41. Gagan has noted that cash inheritances averaged $450 for sons who were not the principal heirs of Ontario farmers. One child in five received nothing at all. Gagan, "The Indivisibility of Land," p. 136.

3 J.F. Snell, "The Cost of Living in Canada in 1870," *Social History*, Vol. 12, No. 23 (May 1979), p. 189. Wage rates for Ontario farm labourers for four localities ranged between $12 and $15 per month, with board, and averaged $13.50. One Qu'Appelle area settler from Toronto described a year's earnings in Ontario at $200. See the testimonial of Samuel Copithorn, *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 2 March 1893. Even the more arduous tasks of threshing by cradle brought only about $1.50 per day, or about $40 per month during harvest season, and summer wage rates generally ranged between $1 and $1.50 in the early 1870s in Ontario. Richard Pomfret, "The Mechanization of Reaping in Nineteenth Century Ontario: A Case Study of the Pace and Causes of the Diffusion of Embodied Technical Change," *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (June 1976), Appendix C, p. 414.

4 SABR, Local Histories File "Qu'Appelle," Annual Report of A.J. Baker, Immigration Agent, Qu'Appelle to the Dominion Minister of Agriculture, 31 December 1888.

5 John Thompson, "Bringing in the Sheaves: The Harvest Excursionists, 1890-1929," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 59, No. 4 (Summer 1978), p. 488.

6 John Burton, Letter to the Editor, *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 2 March 1889.

7 "Started on $200," *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 3 March 1889.

8 See, for example, "Experience and Opinions of Settlers," *Manitoba Official Handbook*, (Liverpool: 1892), pp. 40-44.

9 *Regina Leader*, Supplement, 9 April 1889.

10 Ibid, 19 May 1898.

11 Ibid, "Successful Colonization in the German Colony of New Toulcha," 4 December 1888, p. 8.

12 *Western World*, Winnipeg, March 1891, p. 63.

13 SC, "An Act Respecting Public Lands," 49 Victoria, 1886, Cap. 54, S. 52, p. 832.

14 The average proving-up period at Abernethy was more than five years.

15 James B. Hedges, *Building the Canadian West* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1939), pp. 67-68.

16 James M. Minifie, *Homesteader* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1973), p. 140.

17 Annie I. Yule, *Grit and Growth: The Story of Grenfell*, p. 27.
18 Ibid., p. 76.
19 *Letters from a Young Emigrant in Manitoba* (London: Kegan Paul, 1883), p. 97.
20 W.M. Elkington, *Five Years in Canada* (London: Whittaker & Co., 1895), p. 135.
21 *Western Canada: Manitoba, Alberta, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, and New Ontario* (immigration pamphlet), 1902, p. 68. Copy in Manitoba Legislative Library.
22 Herman Ganzevoort, translator and editor, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), pp. 27-29.
23 *Revised Statutes of Canada*, "An Act Respecting Public Lands." 49 Victoria, Cap. 54, S. 38, s.s. 6 & 7, pp. 830-31, 1886.
24 *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 5 November 1891, p. 4.
25 Isaac Cowie, *The Agricultural and Mineral Resources of the Edmonton Country* [hereafter cited as *Edmonton Country*] (Edmonton: Western Canada Immigrant Association), 1901, p. 51.
26 Georgina Binnie-Clark, *Wheat and Women*, p. 60.
27 Isaac Cowie, *Edmonton Country*, p. 51.
28 *The Star Almanac* 1893 (Montreal: Hugh Graham, 1893), p. 255, "Hints to Intending Settlers"; *Letters from a Young Emigrant ...*, pp. 96-98; John Macoun, *Manitoba and the Great North-West* (Guelph: World Publishing Co., 1882), "Advice to Immigrants," pp. 637-39.
29 Isaac Cowie, *Edmonton Country*, p. 51.
30 John Macoun, *Manitoba and the Great North-West*, pp. 637-39.
31 *Letters from a Young Emigrant ...*, p. 130.
32 *Western Canada: Manitoba, Alberta, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, and New Ontario*, p. 68.
33 Herman Ganzevoort, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies*, p. 88.
34 Canada, Department of Agriculture, *The Province of Manitoba and North West Territories, Information for Intending Immigrants*, 5th ed. (Ottawa, 1880), pp. 14-19. Reprinted in Kevin H. Burley, ed., *The Development of Canada's Staples, 1867-1939* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), pp. 37, 38.
35 Georgina Binnie-Clark, *Wheat and Women*, p. 350.
36 Ibid., p. 166. Georgina Binnie-Clark has provided a cost breakdown for a two-strand barbed wire fence in 1907:

8 rolls wire	$24.00
660 pickets	19.80
labour	20.00
	$63.80 per mile

Since two miles of fencing were required to enclose a quarter section, Binnie-Clark would spend $127.60 or $0.80 per acre.

37 Herman Ganzevoort, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies*, p. 35.

38 Leo Thwaite, *Alberta: An Account of Its Wealth and Progress* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1912), p. 88.

39 Herman Ganzevoort, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies*, p. 40.

40 *Letters from a Young Emigrant* ..., pp. 86-88.

41 W.M. Elkington, *Five Years in Canada*, p. 135.

42 Herman Ganzevoort, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies*, p. 72.

43 Henry J. Boam, comp., *The Prairie Provinces of Canada*, edited by Ashley G. Brown (London: Sells Ltd., 1914), pp. 388-89.

44 Janice Acton (comp.), *Lemberg Local History*, p. 164.

45 See, for example, John Macoun, *Manitoba and the Great North-West*, p. 637; *Letters from a Young Emigrant* ..., pp. 96-98; Isaac Cowie, *Edmonton Country*, pp. 18-19; "Hints to Settlers," quoted in Annie Yule, *Grit and Growth*, p. 67.

46 Herman Ganzevoort, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies*, pp. 36-37.

47 *The Province of Manitoba and North West Territories, Information for Intending Immigrants*, in Kevin H. Burley, ed., *The Development of Canada's Staples* (1867-1939), p. 37.

48 All of the following sources cite $80 as the price of a wagon in the 1880s: Macoun, *Manitoba and the Great Northwest*, p. 637; *Farming and Ranching in the Canadian Northwest, the Guide Book for Settlers* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1886); *The Province of Manitoba and North West Territories: Information for Intending Immigrants of Canada*, in Burley, *The Development of Canada's Staples* (1867-1939), p. 37; and R. Goodridge, *A Year in Manitoba* (London: W.R. Chambers, 1882), pp. 107-108. Cowie's *Edmonton Country*, p. 24, gives $75 as the price of a wagon in 1897 and Boam's *The Prairie Provinces* ..., published in 1914, states that farm wagons at that time

could be purchased for $70 (pp. 388-89). Second-hand wagons, of course, could be purchased more cheaply. In 1907 Georgina Binnie-Clark purchased a used wagon for $45. *Wheat and Women*, p. 37.

49 *Letters from a Young Emigrant* ..., p. 130.

50 See, for example, *Western Canada: Manitoba, Alberta, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, and New Ontario*, p. 68; *The Manitoba Official Handbook*, pp. 44, 45.

51 SABS, S-X2, Pioneer Questionnaire of George A. Hartwell, Pheasant Forks, District of Assiniboia, 1882, p. 5.

52 Canada, Parliament, *Sessional Papers*, 48 Victoria, 1885, No. 8, Table B, p. 150. "Table showing the Price of Agricultural Implements as sold at different places in the United States and Canada, during the season of 1884." Prices of implements at Brandon, Manitoba were selected for this book.

53 Canada, Department of Agriculture, Indian Head Dominion Experimental Farm, Ledger Book, 1888-89. The figures quoted in the ledger book represent actual expenditures for farm implements. Comparable prices for 1889 farm implements are revealed in an Oak Lake settler's letter to the *Manitoba Colonist*, No. 42, November 1889, p. 14.

54 Isaac Cowie, *Edmonton Country*, p. 51.

55 Saskatchewan, Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Machinery Administration, Series II, *Catalogues*, Group A. 20 "Massey-Harris." Box 1, "No. 1 Retail Price List 1909. Manitoba Branch. Massey Harris Company Ltd., Winnipeg, Manitoba."

56 Saskatchewan, *Royal Commission on Farm Machinery, 1914*, Implement Catalogue File A(v), Cockshutt Plow Company, Box 1. "Retail Price List B," 1914.

57 Saskatchewan, Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Machinery Administration, Series II, *Catalogues*. Group A. 20. "Massey Harris." Box 1. "No 2 X Retail Price List, 1915-1916" (effective 1 May 1915). Regina Branch, Massey Harris.

58 PAM, Diary of Claude H. Manners, Moosomin, 1883.

59 Isaac Cowie, *Edmonton Country*, p. 19, gives $1.95 as the cost of backsetting in 1901.

60 See "Wheat: Cost of Production," *Canadian Thresherman*, (Winnipeg) November 1905, p. 3. According to this article steam plowing entailed a cost of 57.5 cents per acre. "Using the Traction Engine on the Plow," *Nor'-West Farmer* (Winnipeg), 5 March 1902, p. 193.

61 W.M. Elkington, *Five Years in Canada*, p. 64.

62 William Compton, Opawaka, Manitoba, Letter to the Editor, 25 August 1890, printed in *The Western World* (Winnipeg), September 1890.

63 "A Farm Started in '82," *Nor'-West Farmer*, 20 November 1928.

64 SABR, Department of Agriculture, Statistics Branch, File re: General Publicity, 1914. John Teece to J. Cromie, 27 December 1913.

65 J.M. Bonnor, "Early History of Blackwood District," unpublished local history manuscript (Blackwood, Saskatchewan: 1963). See also SABS, Homestead File No. 71859.

66 *Letters from a Young Emigrant* ..., pp. 85-86.

67 SABS, Homestead Files.

68 See, for example, *Letters from a Young Emigrant* ... (1883), and W.M. Elkington, *Five Years in Canada* (1895).

69 James Mavor, *Report to the Board of Trade on the North West of Canada, With Special Reference to Wheat Production for Export* (London: King's Printer, 1904), p. 26.

70 Statistical surveys of prairie farmers conducted in the 1920s and 1930s indicate that a large proportion of settlers began with relatively little capital. In 1930-31, the Saskatchewan College of Agriculture carried out a series of surveys in areas representative of the different soil groups in the province. Overall, these surveys showed that farmers who settled before 1900 had begun with an average capital of $357. Evidently, the costs of farm-making increased quickly after 1900, as farmers who arrived in the 1900-05 period reported an average initial worth of $1249. Starting capital increased rapidly thereafter to a high of $5000 for those who commenced farming after the First World War. Further evidence for the low capital outlay thesis is found in a 1926 study of 360 Manitoba farmers. Fully 60.1 percent of the surveyed group reported having started farming with less than $500. See R.W. Murchie, *Agricultural Progress on the Prairie Frontier*, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series, Vol. 5 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936), pp. 72-3; and R.W. Murchie and H.C. Grant, *Unused Lands of Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1926), pp. 71-2.

III Economic Development of the Abernethy District, 1880-1920

1 *Regina Leader*, 10 December 1884.

2 Annie J. Yule, *Grit and Growth* ..., p. 23.

3 Vernon C. Fowke, *Canadian Agricultural Policy: The Historical Pattern* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946), p. 242.

4 The prices were taken from market quotations published in the *Qu'Appelle Progress*, *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, and *Regina Leader*. Qu'Appelle prices pertain to the principal market centres for Abernethy wheat in the period, including Indian Head, Fort Qu'Appelle and Sintaluta. Some market quotations provide a range of wheat prices for different grades and others indicate only a single price. It is assumed that these single prices pertain to the highest possible price, i.e. of No.1 Hard Wheat. On this basis they were averaged with the highest quoted prices on individual dates in the same season, 1 September to 31 August.

5 *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 31 December 1885.

6 *Qu'Appelle Progress*, 12 July 1894.

7 A tabulation of farm improvements recorded by 461 homestead applicants confirms the slow rate of land clearing. Abernethy settlers broke an average of only about 12 acres per year.

8 *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 31 December 1885.

9 Ibid, 28 December 1893.

10 NA, RG17, Department of Agriculture Records, Vol. 384, File No. 41291, Report of A.J. Baker, 1 October 1883.

11 Ibid., Vol. 427, File No. 46581, Annual report of A.J. Baker, 31 December 1884.

12 *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 1 October 1885.

13 Letter of Samuel Chipperfield to the editor, *The Abernethan* (Abernethy), 4 October 1907, p. 5.

14 NA, RG17, Department of Agriculture Records, Vol. 562, File 63154, Annual report of A.J. Baker, Qu'Appelle, 31 December 1887. See also *Qu'Appelle Progress*, 1 September 1887, p. 6.

15 SABS, Homestead File No. 133067.

16 Letter of Elizabeth Motherwell, Perth, Ontario, to W.R. Motherwell, December 1888. Copy in Parks-PNRO Library.

17 SABS, S-A32, A.S. Morton, Transcription of Department of Interior File No. 225330, Letter of A.G. Thorburn, M.L.A., 29 November 1889, appended to memo of Lieutenant-Governor E. Dewdney to the Privy Council, 11 January 1890. In his account Thornburn included the following statistics vis-à-vis gopher destruction in 1889.

Returns District	Acres Seeded	Acres Destroyed	Percentage Destroyed
Wallace District	369	342	92.70
Kinbrae District	404	214	53.00
Whitewood District	1508	827	54.80
Broadview District	1065	365	34.30
Kendricks District	1634	776	47.50
Yorkton District	957	780	81.50
Grenfell District	483	302	62.50
Qu'Appelle District	419	231	55.13
Qu'Appelle District	1377	583	43.34
Qu'Appelle District	403	227	56.33
Totals of 10 returns	8619	4647	54 percent

18 "Chickney Settlement," *The Western World* (Winnipeg), June 1890, p. 100.

19 NA, RG18, R.C.M.P. Records, Vol. 254, 1890, "Crop and Weather Bulletins for 1890."

20 James Bonnor, "Early History of Blackwood District," p. 1.

21 *Melville Advance*, 29 June 1955.

22 NA, RG15, Department of the Interior Records, Vol. 702, File No. 351884, Petition to His Excellency the Governor General in Council of the Dominion of Canada, Received by the Department of Interior, 12 March 1894.

23 NA, RG17, Department of Agriculture Records, Vol. 682, File No. 78020, "Canada as a Field for Emigration," Letter of a settler, Regina, N.W.T. to the *Belfast Newsletter*, March 1891.

24 "Hard Times at Lorlie," *Qu'Appelle Progress*, 3 January 1895, p. 1.

25 *Qu'Appelle Progress*, 2 March 1893.

26 Ibid, 24 June, p. 4.

27 The table of yields at the Motherwell and Indian Head Farms is taken from S.D. Clarke, "Settlement in Saskatchewan with Special Reference to the Influence of Dry Farming," M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1931, p. 79.

28 SABS, W.R. Motherwell Papers, fol. 23308, clipping from *Canadian Farms and Homes*, Christmas-New Year's Issue, 1910.

29 "Review of Conditions in the West," *Regina Leader*, 5 January 1899, p. 1.

30 *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 26 January 1898, p. 8.

31 "Actual Farming Results," *The Western World*, March 1897, p. 12.

32 Canada, Parliament, *Sessional Papers*, Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police, 1895, Report of Superintendent, Depot Division, Regina, 1 December 1895, No. 15, Appendix C., p. 58.
33 A.S. Morton, *History of Prairie Settlement*, p. 125.
34 W.A. MacIntosh, *Economic Problems of the Prairie Provinces*, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1935). Table 5, "Costs of Transporting Wheat," p. 284.
35 Canada, *Census of Population and Agriculture of the North West Provinces ...*, 1906.
36 The data of wheat yields were derived from *Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture, North-West Territories, 1898-1904*, and from Saskatchewan, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Reports*, 1905-1912.
37 North-West Territories. *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1901*.
38 See Herman Ganzevoort, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies*, p. 6.
39 Saskatchewan, Regina Land Titles Office, Certificate of Title to the North-East Quarter of Section 14, in Township 20, Range 11, West of the 2nd Principal Meridian. Mortgage registered by the Law Union and Crown Insurance Company for $5000, dated 2 September 1907.
40 See for example the Certificate of Title to the North-West Quarter of Section 22 in Township 20, Range 11, West of the 2nd Meridian.
41 Saskatchewan, *Royal Commission on Agricultural Credit* (Regina: King's Printer, 1913), p. 65.
42 Saskatchewan, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report, 1912* (Regina: King's Printer, 1913), p. 102.
43 Ibid., p. 103.
44 *The Abernethan* (Abernethy), 22 September 1908.
45 Saskatchewan, *Royal Commission on Agricultural Credit*, p. 63.
46 Georgina Binnie-Clark, *Wheat and Women*, p. 354.
47 All the information on Georgina Binnie-Clark's farming venture was obtained from her personal account in *Wheat and Women*.
48 Saskatchewan, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report, 1918*, p. 14.
49 Ibid., p. 13.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
52 Somewhat contradictory figures are cited in two different sources. The Saskatchewan Grain Markets Commission tabulation gives the cost of producing an acre of wheat in 1914 to be $10.13 for the province and $9.35 for the Southeastern Region. (Saskatchewan,

Royal Commission on Grain Markets (Regina: King's Printer, 1914, p. 16). The *Canada Yearbook*, on the other hand, gives figure of $12.53 for 1913. *Canada Yearbook, 1914* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1915), p. 200.

53 John H. Thompson, *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), pp. 63-65.

54 See Figure 16, "Wholesale Price Indexes by Commodity Group, 1890-1924," compiled from M.C. Urquhart and K.A.H. Buckley, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, (Toronto: Macmillan, 1965), p. 292.

55 William Allen, E.C. Hope, and F.C. Hitchcock, "Studies of Financial Indebtedness and Financial Progress of Saskatchewan Farmers," Report No. 3, University of Saskatchewan, *Agricultural Extension Bulletin No. 68*, 1935 [hereafter cited as W. Allen, et al., "Studies of Farm Indebtedness"].

56 William Allen, E.C. Hope, and F.C. Hitchcock, "Studies of Probable Net Farm Revenues for the Principal Soil Types of Saskatchewan," University of Saskatchewan, *Agricultural Extension Bulletin No. 64*, 1935.

57 Robert Ankli, "Farm Income on the Plains and the Prairies," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (January 1977), p. 99.

IV Work and Daily Life on the Motherwell Homestead

1 Marc Bloch, *French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics*. Translated by Janet Sondheimer. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966).

2 Interview with Nina Gow and Ben Noble, Abernethy, by Lyle Dick, Parks-PNRO, January 1978. Mrs. Gow relates that Motherwell hired her late husband George Gow to work solely on the farmstead landscape.

3 Alma Mackenzie, correspondence with H. Tatro, Calgary, 17 March 1968. Parks-PNRO. Mrs. Mackenzie was W.R. Motherwell's daughter.

4 Ian Clarke, Motherwell Historic Park, "Landscape and Outbuildings - Structural and Use History," Manuscript Report Series, No. 219, Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Ottawa, 1977, p. 3.

5 E.A.W. Gill, *A Manitoba Choreboy: The Experiences of a Young Emigrant Told From His Letters* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1912), p. 27.

6 Interview with Dan Gallant, Regina, by Lyle Dick, Parks-PNRO, 6 March 1983.
7 Interview with Jack Bittner, Abernethy, by Lyle Dick, Parks-PNRO, January 1978.
8 Interview with Dan Gallant by Lyle Dick.
9 Herman Ganzevoort, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies*, p. 4.
10 Interview with Dan Gallant by Lyle Dick.
11 Ibid.
12 Interview with Major McFadyen, Dan Gallant and Olive Gallant, Abernethy, by Ian Clarke, Parks-PNRO, September 1976.
13 Interview with Elizabeth Large, Balcarres, by Lyle Dick, Parks-PNRO, July 1980.
14 Ibid.
15 Interview with Dan Gallant by Lyle Dick.
16 Ibid.
17 Telephone interview with Walter Brock, Abernethy, by Lyle Dick, Parks-PNRO, February 1983.
18 Interview with Dan Gallant by Lyle Dick.
19 Interviews with Marie Bittner, Lemberg, 21 July 1980, and Elizabeth Large, Balcarres, 7 July 1980, and with Elizabeth Morris, Indian Head, by Lyle Dick, Parks-PNRO, 22 March 1978.
20 Interview with Major McFadyen, Regina, by Ian Clarke, Parks-PNRO, 25 June 1976.
21 Interview with Marie Bittner by Lyle Dick.
22 Interview with Margretta Evans Lindsay by Ian Clarke and Margie Lou Shaver, Regina, Parks-PNRO, May 1977.
23 Interview with Elizabeth Large by Lyle Dick.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.; and interview with Marie Bittner by Lyle Dick.
27 Joann Vanek, "Work, Leisure and Family Roles: Farm Households in the United States, 1920-1955," *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Winter 1980), pp. 422-31.
28 Interview with Laura Jensen, Sun City, Arizona, 7 December 1977.
29 Interview with Gertrude Barnsley, Abernethy, by Lyle Dick, Parks-PNRO, 15 July 1980.
30 Interview with Margretta Evans Lindsay by Ian Clarke and Margie Lou Shaver.
31 Parks-PNRO, Alma Mackenzie, untitled written reminiscences, No. B10.

32 Nellie McClung, *Clearing in the West* ... (Toronto: Thomas Allen Ltd., 1935), p. 364.
33 See SABS, Philip Crampton Manuscript, p. 39.
34 Bruce B. Peel, "R.M. 45: The Social History of a Rural Municipality," M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1946, p. 224.
35 Georgina Binnie-Clark, *Wheat and Women*, p. 275.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 See SABS, S-M12, W.R. Motherwell Papers, File No. 81, fols. 12041-44, "The Use and Abuse of the Common Drag Harrow." Address delivered at the 1915 International Dry Farming Congress by W.R. Motherwell in Denver, Colorado.
39 Interview with Major McFadyen by Ian Clarke.
40 Interview with Dan Gallant by Lyle Dick.
41 W.R. Motherwell, "Saskatchewan as a Field for Dry Farming Operations." Address delivered before the Fifth Dry Farming Congress at Spokane, Washington, 5 October 1910. Issued as Saskatchewan, Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin No. 21*, "Methods of Soil Cultivation Underlying Successful Grain Growing in the Province of Saskatchewan" (Regina: King's Printer, 1910), p. 11.
42 Samuel Chipperfield, who farmed at Chickney about six miles southeast of Abernethy, reported that his hired man performed seeding operations up to the middle of June in the 1902 crop year. SABR, Samuel Chipperfield Diaries, Entries for June 1902.
43 Bruce B. Peel, "R.M. 45," p. 128-43.
44 Advisory Board of Manitoba, *Prairie Agriculture*, (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1896), p. 103.
45 W.C. McKillican, *Experiments with Wheat at the Dominion Experimental Farm, Brandon, Manitoba, 1899-1923: A Summary*. Canada, Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin No. 42*, New Series (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1924), p. 31.
46 Ibid.
47 SABS, S-M12, W.R. Motherwell Papers, File No. 121, fols. 17185-6, W.R. Motherwell to A.J. Quigley, Sintaluta, Saskatchewan, 19 December 1907.
48 See also SABS, S-M12, Motherwell Papers, File No. 81, fols. 12041-44. "The Use and Abuse of the Common Drag Harrow."
49 Ibid.

50 SABS, S-M12, W.R. Motherwell Papers, File No. 121, fol. 17272, W.R. Motherwell to J.W. DeStein, Regina, 17 May 1916.
51 W.R. Motherwell, "Oat Growing for the Qu'Appelle Valley," *Nor'-West Farmer*, 20 April 1901, p. 239.
52 SABS, S-M12, W.R. Motherwell Papers. File No. 121, fols. 17185-6, W.R. Motherwell to A.J. Quigley, Sintaluta, Saskatchewan, 19 December 1907.
53 SABS, W.R. Motherwell Papers, File No. 121, fol. 17272. W.R. Motherwell to J.W. DeStein, 17 May 1916.
54 Advisory Board of Manitoba, *Prairie Agriculture*, p. 88.
55 Ibid., pp. 89-90.
56 SABR, Samuel Chipperfield Diaries, 1900-1910.
57 Ibid.
58 E.A.W. Gill, *A Manitoba Choreboy* ..., p. 49.
59 Ibid.
60 Interview with Dan Gallant by Lyle Dick.
61 Herman Ganzevoort, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies*, p. 7.
62 A.G. Street, *Farmer's Glory* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1934), p. 129.
63 Advisory Board of Manitoba, *Prairie Agriculture*, p. 103.
64 Interview with Walter Brock by Lyle Dick, Parks-PNRO, 26 July 1980.
65 A.G. Street, *Farmer's Glory*, p. 136.
66 Quoted in John H. Thompson, "Bringing in the Sheaves: The Harvest Excursionists, 1890-1929," p. 478.
67 A.G. Street, *Farmer's Glory*, p. 130.
68 Advisory Board of Manitoba, *Prairie Agriculture*, p. 103.
69 SABR, Samuel Chipperfield Diary, 1900-1910.
70 E.A.W. Gill, *A Manitoba Choreboy* ..., pp. 53-54.
71 Ibid. Walter Brock, a neighbour and friend of W.R. Motherwell, has related that Motherwell "stacked for two men." Interview with Walter Brock, Abernethy, by Lyle Dick, Parks-PNRO, July 1980.
72 John Bracken, *Crop Production in Western Canada* (Winnipeg: Grain Growers' Guide Ltd., 1920), pp. 120-121. Willem de Gelder also gives an account of stacking in Herman Ganzevoort, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies*, p. 11.
73 James M. Minifie, *Homesteader*, p. 131.
74 Bruce B. Peel, "R.M. 45," p. 224-26.
75 Interview with Alma MacKenzie by R. Dixon, Parks-PNRO, 1969.
76 Herman Ganzevoort, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies*, p. 12.
77 Philip Crampton in his reminiscences of the Carrot River District recalled that portable threshers had come into general use by 1910.

SABS, Philip Crampton Manuscript. W.R. Motherwell owned a Case 50-inch separator in this period.

78 Interview with Jack Bittner by Lyle Dick.

79 See the account of threshing operations in Herman Ganzevoort, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies*, p. 12.

80 S.J. Ferns and H.S. Ferns, *Seventy Five Years in Canada* (Winnipeg: Queenston House, 1978), pp. 50-51.

81 Herman Ganzevoort, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies*, p. 12.

82 James M. Minifie, *Homesteader*, p. 74.

83 A.G. Street, *Farmer's Glory*, p. 106.

84 Ibid., p. 107.

85 Ibid., p. 106.

86 Herman Ganzevoort, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies*, p. 55.

87 J.F. McCorrell, "Threshing in the West," Qu'Appelle Progress, 2 February 1902, p. 2.

88 SABS, Pioneer Questionnaire of Mrs. Edith Stilborne.

89 *The Abernethan*, 21 September 1902, p. 4.

90 Ibid., 18 October 1907, p. 1.

91 James M. Minifie, *Homesteader*, p. 76.

92 See text, Chapter 3, p. 70.

93 See James M. Bonnor, "Early History of the Blackwood District," 1963 and Annie I. Yule, *Grit and Growth* ..., p. 37.

95 *Qu'Appelle Progress*, 3 December 1896, p. 1.

96 A.G. Street, *Farmer's Glory*, p. 130.

97 Interview with Howard Dinnin, Abernethy, by Lyle Dick, Parks-PNRO, 26 July 1980.

98 James M. Minifie, *Homesteader*, p. 79.

99 Bruce B. Peel, "R.M. 45," Chapters 6 and 7, pp. 128-4 and 194-234.

100 Ibid.

101 SABR, Samuel Chipperfield Diaries, 1902-03.

102 Ibid.

103 Catherine Motherwell's expertise in domestic bookkeeping prompted her husband to encourage her to give a lecture on this subject at the founding convention of Saskatchewan Homemakers' Club in 1911. See *Report of the First Annual Convention of the Homemakers' Clubs of Saskatchewan* (Regina: n.p., 1911), p. 56. See also Ann Oakley, *Housewife* (London: Allen Lane, 1974), p. 49.

104 Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Modern Library, 1934).

105 Ann Oakley, *Housewife*, p. 49.

106 Henry Hamilton, *History of the Homeland*, quoted in Ann Oakley, *Housewife*, p. 49.
107 Kate Caffrey, *The 1900s Lady* (London: Gordon and Cremonesi, 1976), p. 24.
108 Interview with Ralph Stueck, Abernethy, by Ian Clarke, Parks-PNRO, 8 June 1976, p. 6.
109 Interview with Laura Jensen, Patricia Motherwell and Laura Murray, Calgary, by Lyle Dick and Sarah Carter, Parks-PNRO, 2 July 1978.

V Social and Economic Structure of the Abernethy District, 1880-1920.

1 Seymour M. Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism: The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 212.
2 Ibid., p. 51.
3 C.B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), pp. 10-20.
4 Michael B. Katz, Michael J. Doucet, and Mark J. Stern, *The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982).
5 Ibid., p. 42.
6 See Vernon C. Fowke, *The National Policy and The Wheat Economy*, pp. 281-297, and Harold A. Innis "The Penetrative Powers of the Price System," in Mary Q. Innis (ed.), *Essays in Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), pp. 252-72.
7 W. Allen, et al., "Studies of Farm Indebtedness," Table 26, p. 46.
8 Ibid., Table 33, p. 43.
9 Ibid., Table 26, p. 46.
10 Ibid., Table 26, p. 46.
11 SABS, S-M12, W.R. Motherwell Papers, File No. 85, fol. 12462, W.R. Motherwell, Regina, to F. Riley, Outlook, Saskatchewan, 1 April 1909.
12 Ibid., fol. 12414.
13 Rural Municipality of Abernethy, Tax Assessment Roll, 1926.
14 Canada, *Census of Population and Agriculture of the North-West Provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, 1906*, p. 45. Between 1901 and 1906, for example, Township 20, Range 11, West of the 2nd Meridian, encompassing the Village of Abernethy, experienced a drop in population from 215 to 167.
15 W. Allen, et. al., "Studies of Farm Indebtedness," p. 11.

16 Robert Hunter, *Poverty (1904)*, quoted in Michael Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 79-80.

17 Saskatchewan. Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report for 1913* (Regina: King's Printer, 1914).

18 Disputes over the non-payment of farm wages sometimes ended up in court. See for example SABS, Judicial District of Melville, Court of King's Bench, Civil Case No. 11 of 1919 (Scott vs Moonie). In this case a farm labourer brought suit against an Abernethy farmer who had failed to pay accumulated wages of $645 earned between December 1917 and October 1918.

19 See Herman Ganzevoort, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies*, pp. 6-8.

20 John H. Blackburn, *Land of Promise* (Toronto: Macmillan 1970), p. 226.

21 See T.B. Bottomore, *Classes in Modern Society* (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), pp. 24-26.

22 Paul H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1940), p. 73.

23 John Bennett, *Northern Plainsmen: Adaptive Strategy and Agrarian Life* (Arlington Heights, Illinois: A.H.M. Publishing Co., 1969), pp. 72-3.

24 Ibid.

25 Frederick P. Grove, *Fruits of the Earth* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), p. 72.

26 See Canada, Department of Agriculture, Indian Head Dominion Experimental Farm Collection, "Map of Indian Head and Adjacent District," ca. 1906.

27 Allan R. Turner, "W.R. Motherwell and Agricultural Development in Saskatchewan, 1905-1918," p. 6.

28 See Parks-PNRO, interview with Andy Sproule by Thomas White, Balcarres, Saskatchewan, 1968.

29 Michael Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West*, especially pp. 44-93.

30 Speech of John Morrison, quoted in L.D. Courville "The Conservatism of the Saskatchewan Progressives," Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers, 1974*, p. 169.

31 Herman Ganzevoort, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies*, p. 6.

32 Canada, *Census for 1901* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1902).

33 Ibid.

34 Maps of land tenure in the Abernethy district for 1906 and 1914 show only a handful of non-Anglo-Saxon names in the area bounded by the Rural Municipality of Abernethy.
35 Howard Palmer, *Land of No Second Chance: A History of Ethnic Groups in Southern Alberta* (Lethbridge: The Lethbridge Herald, 1972), p. 253.
36 *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 25 January 1899.
37 SABS, S-M12, W.R. Motherwell Papers, File No. 85.
38 "The Conservatives Rally," *The Abernethan*, 16 October 1908, p. 1.
39 See L.L. Dobbin, "Mrs. Catherine Gillespie, Motherwell, Pioneer Teacher and Missionary," *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Winter 1961), pp. 17-26.
40 Interview with Mrs. Eleanor Brass, Regina, by Lyle Dick, Parks-PNRO, September 1978, p. 11.
41 *Report of the First Annual Convention of the Homemakers' Clubs of Saskatchewan.*
42 SABS, S-M12, W.R. Motherwell Papers, File No. 123, "Women," fols. 17471-17479.
43 St. Andrew's College Library, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, "Knox Presbyterian Church, Abernethy," Unpublished manuscript, n.d.
44 Allan G. Bogue, "Social Theory and the Pioneer," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 34 (January 1960), p. 21.
45 Canada, Department of Agriculture, Indian Head Experimental Research Station. "Map of Indian Head and Adjacent District," ca. 1906, and SABS, Department of the Attorney General, Justice of the Peace Files.
46 See SABR, Minutes of the Abernethy Women's Grain Growers' Association, 1917-25; St. Andrew's College Library, Minute Book of the Women's Missionary Society, Knox Prebyterian Church, Abernethy, 1915-25.

VI Social Relationships

1 Allan G. Bogue, "Social Theory and the Pioneer," pp. 21-34.
2 Walter M. Elkington, *Five Years in Canada*, pp. 111-12.
3 *Letters from a Young Emigrant ...*, pp. 89-90.
4 Walter M. Elkington, *Five Years in Canada*, pp. 111-12.
5 SABR, Diocese of Qu'Appelle, Assiniboia, Occasional Paper No. 25 (April, 1891), *Some Impressions of Life in the North West*, pp. 17-18.
6 F.P. Grove, *Fruits of the Earth*, p. 37.
7 SABR, Ferdinand David Diary, 1893-1899.

8 *Letters from a Young Emigrant* ..., p. 108.
9 Walter M. Elkington, *Five Years in Canada*, p. 112.
10 SABS, Pioneer Questionnaire of Mrs. Florence Kenyon, Abernethy, p. 1.
11 Ibid., p. 3.
12 Walter M. Elkington, *Five Years in Canada*, pp. 111-112.
13 Ibid.
14 *Letters from a Young Emigrant* ..., pp. 89-90.
15 See Bruce Peel, "R.M. 45."
16 J. Burgon Bickersteth, *The Land of Open Doors: Being Letters from Western Canada 1911-13* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 82-84.
17 J.K. McLean, an Ontarian visitor to the Abernethy district in 1895, used the term "bachelor den" in expressing his disgust with the predominance of single men's habitations. *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 25 July 1895, p. 4.
18 Walter M. Elkington, *Five Years in Canada*, p. 56.
19 Ibid., pp. 60-61.
20 SABS, Autobiography of Mrs. Frank Jordans, p. 47.
21 Canada, Parliament, *Sessional Papers, 1883*, Report of the Commissioner North-West Mounted Police, Appendix D. "Cases tried before Lt.-Col. A.G. Irvine, S.M. and other Magistrates in the various Police Districts throughout the Territories, during the year 1882," pp. 44-46.
22 James Gray, *Red Lights on the Prairies* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971).
23 *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 18 June 1885, p. 3.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid., 25 March 1886, p. 3.
26 Herman Ganzevoort, *A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies*, p. 24.
27 SABS, Pioneer Questionnaire (No. 2) of W.H. Ismond, Abernethy, p. 5.
28 SABS, Pioneer Questionnaire (No. 1) of W.H. Ismond, Kenlis, Saskatchewan, p. 5.
29 *Qu'Appelle Progress*, 4 March 1897.
30 SABR, Abernethy Women Grain Growers' Association, Minutes of 9 May 1917 Meeting.
31 "Literary Society," *Lemberg Leader*, 13 December 1897.
32 *The Abernethan*, 26 July 1911, p. 8.
33 Ibid., 27 November 1908, p. 8.
34 Ibid., 19 July 1911, p. 8.

35 "Abernethy L.O.L. 1892," *The Abernethan*, p. 5.
36 Georgina Binnie-Clark, *Wheat and Women*, p. 314.
37 SABS, Pioneer Questionnaire of Lottie Meek.
38 Interview with Mrs. Marie Bittner, Lemberg, by Lyle Dick.
39 SABS, Pioneer Questionnaire of Edith Stilborne, Pheasant Forks, Saskatchewan.
40 *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 12 January 1898.
41 The sociological analysis of Victorian Canadian prairie houses was earlier developed by Lyle Dick and Jean-Claude Lebeuf, "Social History in Architecture: The Stone House of W.R. Motherwell," *Research Bulletin/Bulletin de recherche*, No. 122 (Ottawa: Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service, 1980). This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, in Saskatoon, 25 May 1979.
42 Kenneth L. Ames, "Meaning in Artifacts: Hall Furnishings in Victorian America," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Summer 1978), p. 30.
43 See Lyle Dick, "W.R. Motherwell's Stone House: A Structural History," (Ottawa: Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service, National Historic Parks and Sites, Manuscript Report No. 267, 1978). Reprinted in *History and Archaeology/Histoire et archéologie*, No. 66 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1983), pp. 213-63.
44 Herman Ganzevoort, A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies, pp. 12-13.
45 Letter of "Dabs" to the Editor, *The Abernethan*, 3 November 1907.
46 Nellie McClung, *Sowing Seeds in Danny*, quoted in Susan Jackel, "The House on the Prairies," *Canadian Literature*, No. 42 (Autumn 1969), p. 48.
47 F.P. Grove, *Fruits of the Earth*, pp. 147-53.
48 Genevieve Leslie, "Domestic Service in Canada 1880-1920," in Janice Acton, Pennie Goldsmith, and Bonnie Shepard, eds., *Women at Work, 1850-1930* (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974) pp. 71-126.
49 Ibid., p. 86.
50 Ibid.
51 Marie Bittner and Lizzie Lutz were both 18 years of age when they came to work at the Motherwell farm.
52 Interview with Miss Elizabeth Morris (nee Lutz), Indian Head, by Lyle Dick, Parks-PNRO, 22 March 1978.
53 Interview with Mrs. Marie Bittner by Lyle Dick.
54 Interview with Mrs. Elizabeth Morris by Lyle Dick.

55 Saskatchewan, Department of Agriculture, *Practical Pointers for Farm Hands* (Regina: King's Printer, 1915), p. 3.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid.
58 Interview with Major McFadyen by Ian Clarke.
59 SABS, Pioneer Questionnaire of George A. Hartwell, Primitive Methodist Colony, Pheasant Forks, District of Assiniboia.
60 SABS, Pioneer Questionnaire of Edith Stilborne.
61 Interview with Jack Bittner by Lyle Dick.
62 James M. Minifie, *Homesteader*, pp. 43-44.
63 Ibid.
64 See Notice of Application for Letters Patent to form "The Pheasant Plains Steam Threshing Company, Ltd," *Qu'Appelle Progress*, 24 December 1891, p. 4.
65 "Important Judgement," *Qu'Appelle Progress*, 17 October 1901.
66 North-West Territories, *Consolidated Ordinances of the Legislative Assembly 1898*, Cap. 80, "An Ordinance respecting Estray Animals," pp. 786-91, and "An Ordinance respecting the Herding of Animals," pp. 792-803 (Regina: Queen's Printer, 1899).
67 *The Abernethan*, 8 November 1907, p. 4.
68 Ibid.
69 Nellie McClung, *Clearing in the West*, p. 369.
70 Ibid.

VII Abernethy's Social Creed

1 *Qu'Appelle Progress*, 21 September, 1893, p. 1.
2 Allen Smith, "Myth of the Self-Made Man ...," pp. 189-219.
3 Allan Bogue, "Social Theory and the Pioneer," p. 22.
4 See, for example, "Experience and Opinions of Settlers," *Manitoba Official Handbook* (immigration pamphlet), pp. 40-44.
5 Allen Smith, "Myth of the Self-Made Man ...," p. 207.
6 Saskatchewan, Department of Agriculture, *Practical Pointers for Farm Hands*.
7 W.L. Morton, "Victorian Canada" in W.L. Morton (ed.), *The Shield of Achilles: Images of Canada in the Victorian Age* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), p. 328.
8 Quoted in Paul Rutherford, "The New Nationality, 1884-1897: A Study of the National Aims and Ideas of English Canada in the late 19th Century," Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1973, p. 28.

9 Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, Vol. 2 (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960), pp. 576-602, and 721-24.
10 Ibid., p. 489.
11 Ibid., p. 590.
12 Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), pp. 5-6.
13 "Presbytery of Minnedosa," *Canada Siftings*, Russell, Manitoba, 9 July 1898, p. 9. Printed supplement in *Saltcoats Siftings*.
14 See Jacqueline J. Kennedy, "Qu'Appelle Industrial School," pp. 141-2.
15 *The Abernethan*, 16 October 1908, p. 1.
16 See Barbara Schrodt, "Sabbatarianism and Sport," *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Spring 1977), pp. 22-23.
17 "An Ordinance to Prevent the Profanation of the Lord's Day," North-West Territories. *Consolidated Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1898*, p. 877.
18 "Magistrate's Court," *Qu'Appelle Progress*, 25 December 1885, p. 2.
19 *Qu'Appelle Progress*, 9 January 1886.
20 Interview with Mrs. Laura Jensen, Sun City, Arizona, by Lyle Dick.
21 SABS, Pioneer Questionnaire of Mrs. Edith Stilborne and Mrs. Florence Kenyan.
22 Nellie McClung, *The Stream Runs Fast* (Toronto: Thomas Allen Ltd., 1945), pp. 59-60.
23 SABR, Ferdinand David Diary. Entry for 16 December 1894.
24 Interview with Mr. Howard Dinnin, Abernethy, by Lyle Dick, Parks-PNRO, 26 July 1980.
25 PAM, MG4, B4, Sir Wilfrid Laurier Papers. Vol. 106, fol. 32068, Letter of W.R. Motherwell to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 3 April 1899.
26 William Brennan, "A Political History of Saskatchewan," Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1976.
27 See, for example, Marilyn Barber, "The Assimilation of Immigrants in the Canadian Prairie Provinces, 1896-1918, Canadian Perception and Canadian Policies," Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1975.
28 See Erhard Pinno, "Temperance and Prohibition in Saskatchewan," M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan at Regina, 1969, and John Thompson, "The Prohibition Question in Manitoba, 1892-1928," M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969. Pinno points out that while a large majority throughout the province voted for prohibition in the 1916 plebiscite, Eastern European and some other ethnic groups voted heavily against its imposition.

29 See M. Barber, "Assimilation of Immigrants."
30 "Womanliness," *The Moose Jaw Times*, 31 May 1889, p. 1.
31 Ibid.
32 SABR, Minute Book of the Qu'Appelle Chapter, Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1894-1903, Minutes of the 18 August 1897 Meeting.
33 SABS, S-M12, W.R. Motherwell Papers, File No. 123, "Women," fol. 17478, "Mrs. Motherwell's Address on Women's Present-Day Responsibilities," (1916).
34 Ibid.
35 W.R. Morrison, "'Their Proper Sphere': Feminism, the Family and Child Centered Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-1900," Part II, *Ontario History*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (June 1976) pp. 71-72.
36 Ibid., p. 73.
37 SABR, Abernethy Women's Grain Growers' Association Minute Book, 1917-25, 22 February 1917.
38 SABS, W.R. Motherwell Papers, File No. 123, "Women," fol. 17478, "Mrs. Motherwell's Address on Women's Present-Day Responsibilities" (1916).
39 SABR, Minutes of the Abernethy Women's Grain Growers' Association, 13 June 1917.
40 Kenneth M. Ludmerer, *Genetics and American Society: A Historical Appraisal* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1972), p. 32.
41 J.E. Rea, "The Roots of Prairie Society" in David Gagan, ed., *Prairie Perspectives*, Vol. 1 (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970) pp. 46-55.
42 *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 19 July 1888.
43 Alma (Motherwell) Mackenzie papers. Letter of W.R. Motherwell, Minister of Agriculture to Miss Alma Motherwell, Abernethy, 24 February 1922. (Held in private collection of Donald and Dorothy Mackenzie, Montague, P.E.I.).
44 Walter Hildebrandt, "P.G. Laurie of Battleford: The Aspirations of a Western Conservative," *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Fall 1983), pp. 157-178.
45 Saskatchewan, *Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement 1930*, Appendix XII, p. 204.

VIII Agrarian Unrest in the Central Qu'Appelle Region, 1882-1914

1 Hopkins Moorehouse, *Deep Furrows* (Toronto and Winnipeg: George J. McLeod Ltd., 1918), p. 48.

2 D.J. Hall, "The Manitoba Grain Act: An Agrarian Magna Charta?" *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Spring 1979), p. 118.
3 The standard study of the National Policy and its impact on the prairie farm economy is Vernon C. Fowke's *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy*.
4 Brian R. McCutcheon, "The Birth of Agrarianism in the Prairie West," *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (November 1976), pp. 81-83.
5 Ibid., p. 81.
6 *Manitoba Free Press*, 6 December 1883, p. 4, quoted in Brian R. McCutcheon, "The Patrons of Industry in Manitoba, 1890-1898," *Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba*, Series 3, No. 22 (1965-66), p. 8.
7 B.R. McCutcheon, "Birth of Agrarianism ...," p. 87.
8 Ibid., p. 87.
9 Lewis Aubrey Wood, *A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada: The Origins and Development of Agrarian Protest, 1872-1924* [hereafter cited as *History of Farmers' Movements*] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 113.
10 Ibid., p. 114.
11 B.R. McCutcheon, "Patrons of Industry ...," p. 11.
12 See L.A. Wood, *History of Farmers' Movements*, p. 128.
13 Ibid., pp. 145-6.
14 D.G. Hall, "Manitoba Grain Act," p. 108.
15 L.A. Wood, *History of Farmers' Movements*, pp. 161-4.
16 *Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, 5 and 6 May 1898, cited in D.G. Hall, "Manitoba Grain Act," pp. 110-11.
17 L.A. Wood, *History of Farmers' Movements*, p. 165.
18 Ibid., p. 166.
19 Ibid.
20 SC, 63-64 Victoria, 1900, Cap. 39.
21 W.A. Wilson, *A Century of Canadian Grain: Government Policy to 1951*(Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), p. 32.
22 L.A. Wood, *History of Farmers' Movements*, p. 173.
23 Ibid., p. 173. The grain "blockade" continued throughout the winter. By late February, only 800 000 bushels of a total crop of 2.2 million in the Indian Head district had been shipped. At Sintaluta, the proportion of the crop shipped was even less — only 150 000 of 1 230 000 bushels. *Regina Standard*, 26 February 1902, p. 1.
24 Hopkins Moorehouse, *Deep Furrows*, pp. 46, 47.
25 Ibid., p. 50.

26 "Story of the Early Days — Hon. W.R. Motherwell, Regina" (from an interview by Hopkins Moorehouse, 16 April 1916), *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Autumn 1955), p. 109.
27 Hopkins Moorehouse, *Deep Furrows*, p. 51.
28 L.A. Wood, *History of Farmers' Movements*, p. 175.
29 Harald S. Patton, *Grain Growers' Cooperation in Western Canada* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), p. 34.
30 SC, 2 Edward VII, 1902, Cap. 19, pp. 121-3.
31 Ibid., Section 5, p. 122.
32 Letter of W.R. Motherwell to the Territorial Grain Growers' Association, 1902, quoted in H.S. Patton, *Grain Growers' Cooperation in Western Canada*, p. 35n.
33 Hopkins Moorehouse, *Deep Furrows*, p. 54.
34 L.A. Wood, *History of Farmers' Movements*, p. 180.
35 H.S. Patton, *Grain Growers' Cooperation* ..., p. 36.
36 L.A. Wood, *History of Farmers' Movements*, p. 180.
37 H.S. Patton, *Grain Growers' Cooperation* ..., p. 38.
38 Ibid.
39 Canada, Parliament, *House of Commons Debates*, 1903, p. 9351.
40 SC, 3 Edward VII, 1903, Cap. 33, pp. 182-91.
41 Canada, Parliament, *House of Commons Debates*, 1903, pp. 7993-4.
42 Ibid., p. 7994.
43 Ibid., pp. 7994-5.
44 Ibid., p. 7995.
45 For a detailed discussion of the logistics of shipping "track" wheat, see V.C. Fowke, *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy*, pp. 110-114.
46 H.S. Patton, *Grain Growers' Cooperation* ..., p. 39n.
47 V.C. Fowke, The National Policy and the Wheat Economy, pp. 112-13.
48 North-West Territories, *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1899* (Regina: King's Printer, 1900).
49 See, for example, testimonials of Qu'Appelle area farmers, in *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 2 and 3 March 1889.
50 Between 1918 and 1932, the average annual wheat yield in Crop District No. 2 was 16 bushels per acre. See fn 4., p. 328, W. Allen, et. al., *Studies of Farm Indebtedness*, p. 37, Table 29.
51 V.C. Fowke, *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy*, p. 113.
52 SABR, Diary of Samuel Chipperfield, 1892.

53 Ibid.
54 V.C. Fowke, *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy*, p. 115.
55 "A Farmer's Suggestions," Letter of A. Ormiston to the Editor, dated 27 December 1902, printed in *Regina Standard*, 1 January 1903.
56 W.A. Wilson, *A Century of Canadian Grain ...*, p. 687.
57 *Qu'Appelle Progress*, 1 December 1904, p. 1.
58 Ibid.
59 See, for example, Hopkins Moorehouse, *Deep Furrows*, pp. 61-72; L.A. Wood, *History of Farmers' Movements*, pp. 183-90, and James B. Hamilton and Donald E. Reid, "E.A. Partridge: Prairie Radical," unpublished graduate paper, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1971.
60 *Grenfell Sun*, 30 January 1907, p. 3, cited in J.B. Hamilton and D.E. Reid, "E.A. Partridge: Prairie Radical," p. 21.
61 V.C. Fowke, *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy*, pp.127-52, and D.S. Spafford, "The Elevator Issue, the Organized Farmers and the Government, 1908-11," *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Autumn 1962), pp. 81-92.
62 J.B. Hamilton and D.E. Reid, "E.A. Partridge: Prairie Radical," pp. 31-32.
63 V.C. Fowke, *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy*, p. 144.
64 *Regina Standard*, 10 August 1908, p. 4.
65 SABS, S-M12, W.R. Motherwell Papers, File No. 80, fol. 11716, W.R. Motherwell, Commissioner of Agriculture, Regina, to J.H. Sheppard, Moose Jaw, 26 March 1908. The author would like to thank Ms. Sarah Carter for drawing his attention to this reference.
66 Ibid.
67 V.C. Fowke, *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy*, p. 143.
68 H.S. Patton, *Grain Growers' Cooperation ...*, p. 410.
69 C.B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta ...*.
70 Ibid., p. 226.
71 B.R. McCutcheon, "Birth of Agrarianism ...," pp. 79-94.
72 The closeness of the Patrons and the Liberals in terms of electoral policy was well demonstrated in the election of James Douglas under the joint banner of both parties in Assiniboia East in the 1896 Dominion election.
73 PAM, MG4, B4, Sir Wilfrid Laurier Papers, Series A, Vol. 224, fols. 63029-32, Petition of Abernethy Settlers to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 2 February 1902.

74 "Balcarres," *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 20 May 1886, p. 3.

75 "Abernethy: Scathing Censure Upon the Methods of the Manitoba Mutual Hail Insurance Company," *Regina Leader*, 23 November 1899, p. 4.

76 "Taking Out Patents — The Homestead Menaced," *Regina Leader*, 9 November 1893, p. 4.

77 Evon Z. Vogt, *Modern Homesteaders: The Life of a Twentieth Century Frontier Community* (Cambridge, Massachussetts: Harvard University Press, 1955).

78 Interview with Walter Brock, Abernethy, by Lyle Dick, Parks-PNRO, 26 June 1981.

79 A list of the original Board of Directors of the TGGA appears in Hopkins Moorehouse, *Deep Furrows*, Appendix, p. 295.

80 See the land titles for the SW quarter-section of Section 6 in Township 20, Range 11, West of the 2nd Meridian. Saskatchewan. Department of the Attorney-General. Property Management Branch. Regina District Land Titles Office, Regina.

81 According to a ca. 1906 map of land tenure in the Indian Head district, Elmer Shaw then owned six quarter-sections of land, and Peter Dayman, four. Canada. Department of Agriculture, Indian Head Experimental Farm, "Map of Indian Head and Adjacent District."

82 See Figure 2 in text.

83 "Map of Indian Head and Adjacent District." Data on the composition of the original group of Sintaluta farmers was obtained from the Appendix in Hopkins Moorehouse, *Deep Furrows*, p. 296.

84 See V.C. Fowke, *Canadian Agricultural Policy: The Historical Pattern*, esp. pp. 249-50, and V.C. Fowke, "Political Economy and the Canadian Wheat Grower," in Norman Ward and Duff Spafford (eds.), *Politics in Saskatchewan* (Don Mills, Ontario: Longmans, 1968), pp. 207-220.

85 V.C. Fowke, "Royal Commissions and Canadian Agricultural Policy," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* (1948), p. 169.

86 Ibid.

87 V.C. Fowke, *Canadian Agricultural Policy: The Historical Pattern*, p. 248. See also V.C. Fowke, "Political Economy and the Canadian Wheat Grower," pp. 207-20.

IX Conclusion

1 Rodolfo Stavenhagen, *Social Classes in Agrarian Societies* (New York: Anchor Books, 1975), p. 26.

2 See John H. Thompson, "Permanently Wasteful but Immediately Profitable: Prairie Agriculture and the Great War," Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers 1976*, pp. 193-206.

3 Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York: Random House, 1955), p. 46.

4 Dick Harrison, "Rolvaag, Grove, and Pioneering on the American and Canadian Plains," *Great Plains Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Fall 1981), p. 253.

5 Ibid.

6 Ian Clarke, and Gregory Thomas, "The Garrison Mentality and the Canadian West: The British-Canadian Response to Two Landscapes: The Fur Trade Post and the Ontarian Prairie Farmstead," *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1979), p. 101.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Manuscript and Unpublished Public Documents

Canada. Department of Agriculture. Indian Head Experimental Research Station.

Account Ledger Books, Indian Head Dominion Experimental Farm, 1888-1905.

Daily Journal of Activities, 1889-1914.

"Map of Indian Head and Adjacent District," ca. 1906.

Canada. National Archives of Canada (NA). Manuscript Division.

RG17, Department of Agriculture Records, Vols. 384, 427, 466.

RG15, Department of the Interior Records, Vols. 229, 247, 292, 326, 702, 724.

RG18, R.C.M.P. Records, Vol. 254.

Manitoba. Provincial Archives (PAM).

MG4, B4, Sir Wilfrid Laurier Papers (microfilmed copy of the originals at the National Archives of Canada).

M68, B4, Diary of Claude H. Manners, Moosomin, District of Assiniboia, 1883.

MG12, B1, Alexander Morris Papers.

Rural Municipality of Abernethy

Tax Assessment Roll, 1926.

Saskatchewan. Archives Board, Regina (SABR).

M. Film 1.20 (1) Abernethy Women's Grain Growers' Association, Minutes, 1917-25.

M. Film 2.171 Journal of John Allen, 1883.

M. Film 2.864 Samuel Chipperfield Diaries, 1890-1910.

Coumans Saskatchewan Land Map Series, ca. 1917.
Cummins Rural Directories, 1915-1930.
Ferdinand David Diary
Local Histories File "Qu'Appelle," Annual Report of A.J. Baker, Immigration Agent, Qu'Appelle, to the Dominion Minister of Agriculture, 31 December 1888.
M.Film 2.180 Records of the Synod of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, Anglican Church of Canada.
Saskatchewan, Department of Agriculture, Statistics Branch, File Re: General Publicity, 1914.
Women's Christian Temperance Union, Qu'Appelle District, Minutes, 1894-1903.

Saskatchewan. Archives Board, Saskatoon (SABS).

Canada, Department of the Interior, "Homestead Files" for townships 19A, 19, 20 and 21 in Ranges 8, 10, 11 and 12, West of the Second Meridian.
Orders-in-Council, 1885. Microfilm No. 61.
S-A76 Frederick Charles Gilchrist Diary, 1859-96.
S-A93 William Hays Diary, 1883.
S-A32 A.S. Morton Papers.
S-M12 W.R. Motherwell Papers.
Philip Crampton Manuscript, n.d.
S-X2 Pioneer Questionnaires.
J.H. Behrns, Abernethy, District of Assiniboia, date of settlement, 1899.
Sidney Chipperfield, Chickney, 1883.
Kenneth Foster, Abernethy.
Alfred W. Garratt, Blackwood, 1884.
George A. Hartwell, Primitive Methodist Colony, Pheasant Forks, 1882.
W.H. Ismond, Abernethy, 1892.
Florence Kenyon, Lemberg, 1895.
Lottie Meek, Blackwood, 1884.
Harriet Stueck, Abernethy, 1883.
Edith Stilborne, Pheasant Forks, 1883.
Mrs. Harry Teece, Lemberg, 1900.
Rosanna Thompson, Abernethy, 1884.
Elizabeth Webster, Balcarres, 1884.

Saskatchewan. Department of the Attorney General.
Judicial District of Melville. Court of King's Bench and Supreme Court Records, 1905-20.
Justice of the Peace Files.
Property Management Branch. Regina Land Titles Office, Regina.
Certified Land Titles for all quarter-sections in township 20, Range 11 and township 19 Range 8, West of the Second Meridian.

St. Andrew's College Library, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.
Minutes of the Knox Presbyterian Church, Abernethy 1915-1925.
Knox Presbyterian Church, Abernethy.
Minutes of the Board of Controllers, Women's Missionary Society, 1905-1925.

Motherwell History Interviews

Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service, Prairie and Northern Regional Office, Historical Services (Parks-PNRO).

These interviews represent the core of oral history research for the Motherwell project. With the exception of the Alma MacKenzie materials, these interviews were tape recorded. Typed transcripts are on file in the Prairie and Northern Regional Office.

Gertrude Barnsley by Lyle Dick, Abernethy, Saskatchewan, 15 July 1980.
Jack Bittner by Lyle Dick, Abernethy, January 1978.
Marie Bittner by Lyle Dick, Lemberg, Saskatchewan, 21 July 1980.
Walter Brock by Lyle Dick, Abernethy, 18 July 1980, 26 June 1981 and February 1983.
Allen Burton by Lyle Dick, Abernethy, 21 July 1980.
Lyle Dick, Balcarres, Saskatchewan, 22 July 1980.
Howard Dinnin by Lyle Dick, Abernethy, 26 July 1980.
Dan Gallant by Lyle Dick, Regina, 6 March 1983.
Dan and Olive Gallant
(i) and Major McFadyen by Ian Clarke, Lanark Place, September 1976.
(ii) by Ian Clarke and Margie Lou Shaver, Regina, May 1977.
Nina Gow and Ben Noble by Lyle Dick, Abernethy, January 1978.
Laura Jensen by Lyle Dick, Sun City, Arizona, 7 and 8 December 1977.

Laura Jensen, Laura Murray and Patricia Motherwell by Sarah Carter and Lyle Dick, Calgary, 2 July 1978.
Dick and Elizabeth Large by Lyle Dick, Balcarres, 7 July 1980.
Margretta Evans Lindsay
(i) by Ian Clarke and Margie Lou Shaver, Regina, May 1977.
(ii) by Lyle Dick, Regina, November 1977.
Alma MacKenzie
(i) Correspondence with H. Tatro, Calgary, 6 March 1968.
(ii) Correspondence with H. Tatro, Calgary, 17 March 1968.
(iii) Taylor Interview, Prince Edward Island, 17 April 1968.
(iv) Response to questions from W. Naftel, 8 November 1968.
(v) Interview by R. Dixon re: Naftel questions, 15 January 1969.
(vi) "Recollections" by R. Dixon, n.d.
Major McFadyen by Ian Clarke, Regina, 25 June 1976.
Elizabeth Morris by Lyle Dick, Indian Head, 22 March 1978.
Annie Morrison by Sarah Carter and Lyle Dick, Abernethy, July 1978.
Mr. and Mrs. Rick Penney by Lyle Dick, Abernethy, September 1978.
Harry Smith by Lyle Dick, Balcarres, July 1980.
Andy Sproule by Thomas White, Balcarres, n.d.
Hugh Stueck by Lyle Dick, Abernethy, 18 April 1979.
Nelson Stueck by Lyle Dick, Abernethy, 21 July 1980.
Ralph Stueck by Ian Clarke, Abernethy, 8 June 1976.
Louis Wendell by Lyle Dick, Neudorf, 17 July 1980.

II. Manuscripts in Private Collections

Alma (Motherwell) Mackenzie Papers.
Private collection of Donald and Dorothy Mackenzie, Montague, P.E.I.

III. Primary Printed Sources

Canada.
Census of Canada, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921 Population and Agriculture. Queen's Printer (King's Printer after 1901), Ottawa, 1892, 1902, 1912 and 1922.

Canada.
Census of Population and Agriculture of the North West Provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1885 and 1906. Queen's/King's Printer, Ottawa, 1886 and 1907.

Canada. Department of Agriculture.
Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture, 1882-1900. Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1883-1901.

Canada. Department of the Interior.
Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Years 1882 to 1900. Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1883 to 1901.

Canada.
Dominion Lands Surveyors' Reports. Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1886.

Canada. North-West Mounted Police.
Annual Reports of the Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police Force, 1882-1900. Maclean Roger & Co., Ottawa, 1883-1901.

Canada. Parliament.
House of Commons Debates, 1882-1885, 1889-1893, 1902-1905. Queen's/King's Printer, Ottawa.
—. *Sessional Papers*, 1883-1900. Queen's Printer, Ottawa.

Canada. Privy Council.
Reports of a Committee of the Privy Council, 28 January 1885 and 18 April 1885, Queen's/King's Printer, Ottawa, 1886.

Canada. Laws, Statutes, etc.
Statutes, 1873, 1885, 1886, 1893, 1900, 1902, 1903, 1904. Queen's/King's Printer, Ottawa.
—. *Revised Statutes*, 49 Victoria. Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1886.

Canada Yearbook, 1914.
King's Printer, Ottawa, 1915.

North-West Territories.
Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture 1898-1904. Queen's/King's Printer, 1899-1905.

—. *Consolidated Ordinances of the Legislative Assembly, 1898*. Queen's Printer, Regina, 1899.

Saskatchewan. Department of Agriculture.
Annual Reports, 1905-20. King's Printer, Regina, 1906-21.
—. *Pamphlets, Bulletins and Circulars [and Catalogues]*, 1905-1920, King's Printer, Regina, 1906-21.
—. Government Publications Series, *Practical Pointers for Farm Hands*. King's Printer, Regina, 1916.

Saskatchewan.
Royal Commission on Agricultural Credit. King's Printer, Regina, 1913.
—. *Royal Commission on Farm Machinery*. Implement Catalogues. King's Printer, Regina, 1914.
—. *Royal Commission on Grain Markets*. King's Printer, Regina, 1914.
—. *Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement, 1930*. King's Printer, Regina, 1931.

Immigration Pamphlets

Cowie, Isaac.
The Agricultural and Mineral Resources of Edmonton Country. Western Canada Immigrant Association, Edmonton, 1901.

Farming and Ranching in the Canadian Northwest, The Guide Book for Settlers. Queen's Printer, Ottawa. 1886.

Manitoba Official Handbook. Liverpool, England, 1892.

Western Canada: Manitoba, Alberta, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, and New Ontario. N.p., 1902.

Newspapers and Farm Journals

The Abernethan, Abernethy (intermittent issues), 1905-14.
Canadian Thresherman, Winnipeg, 1905-10.
Saltcoats Siftings, Saltcoats, Sask., 1897-8.
Lemberg Leader, Lemberg, 1897, 1905-10.
Manitoba Colonist, Winnipeg, 1888-90.
Melville Advance, Melville, 29 June 1955.
Moose Jaw Times, Moose Jaw, 1889.

Nor'-West Farmer, Winnipeg, 1883-1910.
Qu'Appelle Progress, Qu'Appelle, 1885-1901.
Qu'Appelle Vidette, Fort Qu'Appelle, 1884-1897.
Regina Leader, Regina, 1883-1905.
Regina Standard, Regina, 1901-1905.
The Western World, Winnipeg, 1889-90.

IV. General Works and Journals

Abernethan, The **(Abernethy)**
"Abernethy L.O.L. 1892," p. 5.

Acton, Janice ***(comp.)***
Lemberg Local History. Lemberg, Sask., 1933.

Advisory Board of Manitoba
Prairie Agriculture. W.J. Gage, Toronto, 1896.

Allen, Richard
The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1971.

Allen, William, E.C. Hope, and F.C. Hitchcock
"Studies of Farm Indebtedness and Financial Progress of Saskatchewan Farmers." Report No. 3, Surveys made at Indian Head and Balcarres; Grenfell and Wolseley; and Neudorf and Lemberg. *Agricultural Extension Bulletin No. 68*, University of Saskatchewan, 1935.
—. "Studies of Probable Net Farm Revenues for the Principal Soil Types of Saskatchewan." *Agricultural Extension Bulletin No. 64*, University of Saskatchewan, 1935.

Ames, Kenneth L.
"Meaning in Artifacts: Hall Furnishings in Victorian America." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Summer 1978), pp. 19-46.

Ankli, Robert
"Farm Income on the Plains and the Prairies." *Agricultural History*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (January 1977).

Ankli, Robert E., and Robert M. Litt
"The Growth of Prairie Agriculture: Economic Considerations," in Donald H. Akenson, ed., *Canadian Papers in Rural History*. Vol. 1. Langdale Press, Gananoque, Ont., 1978, pp. 35-64.

Barber, Marilyn
"The Assimilation of Immigrants in the Canadian Prairie Provinces, 1896-1918: Canadian Perception and Canadian Policies." Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1975.

Bennett, John
Northern Plainsmen: Adaptive Strategy and Agrarian Life. A.H.M. Publishing Co., Arlington Heights, IL., 1969.

Benson, Nathaniel
None of it Came Easy: The Story of James Garfield Gardiner. Burns Publishing Co., Toronto, 1955.

Berger, Carl
The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1970.

Bickersteth, J. Burgon
The Land of Open Doors: Being Letters from Western Canada, 1911-13. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1976.

Binnie-Clark, Georgina
Wheat and Women. Bell and Cockburn, Toronto, 1914.

Blackburn, John H.
Land of Promise. Macmillan, Toronto, 1970.

Bloch, Marc
French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics. Translated by Janet Sondheimer. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966.

Boam, Henry J., *(comp.)*
The Prairie Provinces of Canada: Their History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources. Edited by Ashley G. Brown. Sells Ltd., London, 1914.

Bogue, Allan G.
From Prairie to Cornbelt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1963.
—. "Social Theory and the Pioneer." *Agricultural History*, Vol. 34 (January 1960), pp. 21-34.

Bonner, James. M.
"Early History of Blackwood District." Unpublished local history manuscript, Blackwood, Sask., 1963.

Bottomore, T.B.
Classes in Modern Society. Vintage Books, New York, 1966.

Bracken, John
Crop Production in Western Canada. Grain Growers' Guide Ltd., Winnipeg, 1920.

Brennan, William
"A Political History of Saskatchewan." Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1976.

Burley, Kevin H. ***(ed.)***
The Development of Canada's Staples, 1867-1939. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1971.

Burnet, Jean
Next Year Country: A Study of Rural Social Organization in Alberta. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1951.

Burton, John
Letter to the Editor, *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, 3 March 1899.

Caffrey, Kate
The 1900s Lady. Gordon and Cremonesi, London, 1976.

Canadian Thresherman, The **(Winnipeg)**
"Wheat: Cost of Production," November 1905, p. 3

Chipperfield, Samuel
Letter to the Editor, *The Abernethan*, 4 Oct. 1907, p. 5.

Campbell, Angelina H.
Man! Man! Just Look at that Land!, n.p., Saskatoon, 1966.

Clark, Clifford Jr.
"Domestic Architecture as an Index to Social History: The Romantic Revival and the Cult of Domesticity in America, 1840-1870." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Summer 1976), pp. 33-56.

Clark, S.D.
"Settlement in Saskatchewan With Special Reference to the Influence of Dry Farming." M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1931.

Clarke, Ian
"Motherwell Historic Park, Landscape and Outbuildings, Structural and Use History." Manuscript Report Series No. 219, National Historic Parks and Sites, Canadian Parks Service, Environment Canada, Winnipeg, 1977. Published in *History and Archaeology/Histoire et archéologie*, No. 66, Ottawa, 1983, pp. 3-212.

Clarke, Ian, and Gregory Thomas
"The Garrison Mentality and the Canadian West: The British-Canadian Response to Two Landscapes: The Fur Trade Post and the Ontarian Prairie Farmstead." *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Spring 1979), pp. 83-104. Regina.

Compton, William
Letter to the Editor, *The Western World*, Winnipeg, September 1890.

Conzen, Michael
Frontier Farming in an Urban Shadow: The Influence of Madison's Proximity on Agricultural Development of Blooming Grove, Wisconsin. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1971.

Courville, Leo D.
"The Conservatism of the Saskatchewan Progressives." Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers 1974* (1975), pp. 157-182. Ottawa.

Curti, Merle
The Making of an American Community. Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA., 1959.

Dawson, Carl A.
Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series, Vol. 7, Macmillan, Toronto, 1936.

Dick, Lyle
"Estimates of Farm-Making Costs in Saskatchewan, 1882-1914." *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Fall 1981), pp. 182-202.
—. "Factors Affecting Prairie Settlement: A Case Study of Abernethy, Saskatchewan in the 1880s." Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers 1985* (1986), pp. 11-28. Ottawa.
—. "A Material Culture Study of Farm Implements at the Motherwell Homestead, 1882-1920." Microfiche Report Series No. 116, Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service, National Historic Parks and Sites, Ottawa, 1984.
—. "W.R. Motherwell's Stone House: A Structural History." Manuscript Report Series No. 267, Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service, National Historic Parks and Sites, Ottawa, 1978. Published in *History and Archaeology/Histoire et archéologie*, No. 66, Ottawa, 1983, pp. 213-263.
—. "The Social and Economic History of the Abernethy District, Saskatchewan, 1880-1920: Bibliography, Historiography, and Methodology." Manuscript Report Series No. 320, Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service, National Historic Parks and Sites, Ottawa, 1979.

Dick, Lyle, and Jean Claude Lebeuf
"Social History in Architecture: The Stone House of W.R. Motherwell." *Research Bulletin/Bulletin de recherches*. Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service, No. 122 (January 1980), Ottawa.

Dobbin, L.L.
"Mrs. Catherine Gillespie Motherwell, Pioneer Teacher and Missionary." *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Winter 1961), pp. 17-26. Saskatoon.

Edwards, Leonard J.
"W.R. Motherwell and the Crisis of Federal Liberalism in Saskatchewan, 1917-1926." M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1961.

Elkington, Walter M.
Five Years in Canada. Whittaker & Co., London, 1895.

England, Robert
The Colonization of Western Canada. P.S. King, Publishers, London, 1936.

Ferns, S.J. and H.S. Ferns
Seventy-Five Years in Canada. Queenston House, Winnipeg, 1978.

Fowke, Vernon C.
Canadian Agricultural Policy: The Historical Pattern. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1946.
—. *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1957.
—. "Political Economy and the Canadian Wheat Grower" in Norman Ward and Duff Spafford (eds.), *Politics in Saskatchewan*. Longman's, Don Mills, Ont., 1968, pp. 207-220.
—. "Royal Commissions and Canadian Agricultural Policy." *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*. Vol. 14 (1948), pp. 163-75. Toronto.

Gagan, David
"The Indivisibility of Land in Nineteenth Century Ontario." *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 36 (1976), pp. 126-41. Atlanta, GA.
—. "Land Population and Social Change: The 'Critical Years' in Rural Canada West." *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 59, No. 3 (1978), pp. 295-318. Toronto.

Ganzevoort, Herman *(trans. and ed.)*
A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1973.

Garratt Bert *(ed.)*
Dance on the Bridge: A History of Abernethy and Area. Abernethy Heritage Association, Abernethy, Sask., 1983.

Gill, E.A.W.
A Manitoba Choreboy: The Experiences of a Young Emigrant Told From His Letters. The Religious Tract Society, London, 1912.

Goodridge, R.
A Year in Manitoba. W.R. Chambers, London, 1882.

Gracie, Bruce A.
"The Agrarian Response to Industrialization in Prairie Canada: 1900-1935." Ph.D. thesis, McMaster University, 1976.

Gray, James
Red Lights on the Prairies. Macmillan, Toronto, 1971.

Grove, Frederick P.
Fruits of the Earth. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1965.

Hall, D.J.
"The Manitoba Grain Act: An Agrarian Magna Charta?" *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Spring 1979), pp. 105-120. Regina.

Hamilton, James B., and Donald E. Reid
"E.A. Partridge: Prairie Radical." Unpublished graduate paper, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1971.

Harrison, Dick
"Rölvaag, Grove and Pioneering on the American and Canadian Plains." *Great Plains Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Fall 1981), pp. 252-62. Lincoln, NE.

Hedges, James B.
Building the Canadian West. Russell and Russell, New York, 1939.
—. *Federal Railway Land Subsidy Policy of Canada*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA., 1934.

Hildebrandt, Walter
"P.G. Laurie of Battleford: The Aspirations of a Western Conservative," *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Fall 1983), pp. 157-178.

Hofstadter, Richard
The Age of Reform. Vintage Books, New York, 1955.

Houghton, Walter E.
The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870. Yale University Press, New Haven, CO., 1957.

Jackel, Susan
"The House on the Prairies." *Canadian Literature*, No. 42 (Autumn 1969), pp. 46-55. Vancouver.

Katz, Michael
The People of Hamilton, Canada West. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA., 1975.

Katz, Michael, Michael Doucet, and Mark Stern
The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA., and London, Eng., 1982.

Kennedy, Jacqueline J.
"Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White Rites for the Indians of the Old North-West." M.A. thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1970.

Kirk, D.W.
The Motherwell Story. Canada. Department of Agriculture, Regina, 1956.

Lalonde, André N.
"The North-West Rebellion and Its Effects on Settlers and Settlement in the Canadian West." *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Autumn 1974), pp. 95-102. Saskatoon.

Landis, Paul H.
Rural Life in Process. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1940.

Lemberg Leader
"Literary Society," 13 Dec. 1897.

Leslie, Genevieve
"Domestic Service in Canada, 1880-1920," in Janice Acton, Pennie Goldsmith, and Bonnie Shepard (eds.), *Women at Work, 1850-1930*. Canadian Women's Educational Press, Toronto, 1974.

Letters from a Young Emigrant in Manitoba
(Anon.) Kegan Paul, London, 1883.

Lipset, Seymour M.
Agrarian Socialism: The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA., 1971.

Loveridge, Donald M.
"The Settlement of the Rural Municipality of Sifton, 1881-1920." M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1977.

Ludmerer, Kenneth M.
Genetics and American Society: A Historical Appraisal. John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD., 1972.

Macdonald, N.A.
Canada: Immigration and Colonization, 1841-1903. Macmillan, Toronto, 1966.

Macdonald, Graham
"Mississippi River Valley: Historical Systems Plan Study." Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, Eastern Regional Office, Kemptville, Ont., 1975.

MacIntosh, W.A.
Prairie Settlement: The Geographical Setting. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series, Vol. 1. Macmillan, Toronto, 1934.

MacIntosh, W.A.
Economic Problems of the Prairie Provinces. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series, Vol. 4. Macmillan, Toronto, 1935.

Macoun, John
Manitoba and the Great North-West. World Publishing Company, Guelph, Ont., 1882.

Macpherson, C.B.
Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1953.

Manitoba. University College of Agriculture.
Prairie Agriculture. W.J. Gage, Toronto, 1896.

Martin, Chester
"Dominion Lands" Policy. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series, Vol. 2. Macmillan, Toronto, 1938.

Mavor, James
Report to the Board of Trade on the North West of Canada, With Special Reference to Wheat Production for Export. King's Printer, London, 1904.

McClung, Nellie
Clearing in the West: My Own Story. Thomas Allen Ltd., Toronto, 1935.
—. *The Stream Runs Fast*. Thomas Allen Ltd., Toronto, 1945.

McCorrell, J.F.
"Threshing in the West," *Qu'Appelle Progress*, 2 Feb. 1902, p. 2.

McCutcheon, Brian R.
"The Birth of Agrarianism in the Prairie West." *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (November 1976), pp. 79-94. Regina.

McCutcheon, Brian R.
"The Patrons of Industry in Manitoba, 1890-1898." *Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba*, Series 3, No. 22 (1965-66), pp. 7-26. Winnipeg.

McGowan, Don. C.
Grassland Settlers: The Swift Current Region During the Era of the Ranching Frontier. Canadian Plains Research Centre, Regina, 1975.

McKillican, W.C.
"Experiments with Wheat at the Dominion Experimental Farm, Brandon, Manitoba 1889-1923: A Summary." Issued by Canada, Department of Agriculture. *Bulletin No. 42*, New Series, Ottawa, 1924.

McLeod, K.A.
"Education and the Assimilation of New Canadians in the North-West Territories and Saskatchewan, 1885-1934." Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, Toronto, 1975.

Meek, Lottie
"Early History of Blackwood District." Unpublished manuscript, Abernethy, Sask., 1955.

Mills, Ivor J.
Stout Hearts Stand Tall. Published by author, Vancouver, 1971.

Minifie, James M.
Homesteader. Macmillan, Toronto, 1973.

Moorehouse, Hopkins
Deep Furrows. George J. McLeod Ltd., Toronto and Winnipeg, 1918.
—. "Story of the Early Days — Hon. W.R. Motherwell, Regina" (excerpted from an interview by Moorehouse with Motherwell, 16 April 1916). *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Autumn 1955), pp. 108-12. Saskatoon.

Morris, Alexander
The Treaties of Canada with the Indians. Belfords, Clarke & Co., Toronto, 1880.

Morrison, W.R.
"'Their Proper Sphere': Feminism, the Family and Child Centered Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-1900," Parts I and II. *Ontario History*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (March 1976), pp. 45-64, and No. 2 (June 1976), pp. 65-74. Toronto.

Morton, A.S.
History of Prairie Settlement. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series, Vol. 2. Macmillan, Toronto, 1938.

Morton, W.L.
Manitoba: History. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1957.
—. "The Significance of Site in the Settlement of the American and Canadian Wests." *Agricultural History*, Vol. 25 (1951), pp. 97-104. Berkley, CA.

Morton, W.L.
"Victorian Canada" in W.L. Morton (ed.), *The Shield of Achilles: Images of Canada in the Victorian Age*. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1968.

Moose Jaw Times
"Womanliness," 31 May 1889, p. 1.

Motherwell, W.R.
"Methods of Soil Cultivation Underlying Successful Grain Growing ...." Issued by Saskatchewan, Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin No. 21*, Regina, 1910.

—. "Oat Growing for the Qu'Appelle Valley," *Nor'West Farmer*, 20 April 1901, p. 239.

Murchie, R.W.
Agricultural Progress on the Prairie Frontier. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series, Vol. 5. Macmillan, Toronto, 1936.

Murchie, R.W., and H.C. Grant
Unused Lands of Manitoba. Manitoba Department of Agriculture and Immigration, Winnipeg, 1926.

Myers, Gustavus
A History of Canadian Wealth. Vol. 1. James Lewis and Samuel, Toronto, 1972.

Norrie, Kenneth
"Dry Farming and the Economics of Risk Bearing: The Canadian Prairies, 1870-1930," in Thomas R. Wessell (ed.), *Agriculture in the Great Plains, 1876-1936*. The Agricultural History Society, Washington, D.C., 1977.

Nor'West Farmer (Winnipeg)
"A Farm Started in '82," 20 Nov. 1928.

Oakley, Ann
Housewife. Allen Lane Publishers, London, 1974.

Ormiston, A.
Letter to the Editor, *Regina Standard*, 1 Jan. 1903.

Owram, Douglas
The Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and The Idea of the West, 1856-1900. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1980.

Palmer, Howard
Land of No Second Chance: A History of Ethnic Groups in Southern Alberta, The Lethbridge Herald, Lethbridge, Alta., 1972.

Partridge, Michael
Farm Tools Through the Ages. New York Graphic Society, Boston, 1973.

Patton, Harald S.
Grain Growers' Cooperation in Western Canada. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA., 1928.

Peel, Bruce B.
"R.M. 45: The Social History of a Rural Municipality." M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1946.

Pinno, Erhard
"Temperance and Prohibition in Saskatchewan." M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Regina, 1969.

Pomfret, Richard
"The Mechanization of Reaping in Nineteenth Century Ontario: A Case Study of the Pace and Causes of the Diffusion of Embodied Technical Change." *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (June 1976), pp. 399-415. Atlanta, GA.

***Qu'Appelle Progress* (Qu'Appelle)**
"Pheasant Plains," 1 Jan. 1885, p. 3.
—. "Magistrates Court," 25 Dec. 1885, p. 2.
—. "Hard Times at Lorlie," 3 Jan. 1895, p. 1.
—. "Important Judgement," 17 Oct. 1901.

***Qu'Appelle Vidette* (Fort Qu'Appelle)**
"Homestead Regulations," 16 April 1897, p. 2.
—. "Started on $200," 3 March 1889.
—. "Balcarres," 20 May 1886, p. 3.

Rasmussen, Linda, Lorna Rasmussen, Candace Savage, and Anne Wheeler.
A Harvest Yet to Reap: A History of Prairie Women. The Women's Press, Toronto, 1976.

Rea, J.E.
"The Roots of Prairie Society" in David Gagan (ed.), *Prairie Perspectives.* Vol. 1. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Toronto, 1970.

Regina Leader
"Review of Conditions in the West," 5 Jan. 1899, p. 1.

—. "Abernethy...," 23 Nov. 1893, p. 4.
—. "Taking Out Patents ...," 9 Nov. 1893, p. 4.

Report of the First Annual Convention of the Homemakers' Clubs of Saskatchewan.
Regina, n.p., 1911.

Reynolds, Thomas M.
"Justices of the Peace in the North-West Territories, 1870-1905." M.A. thesis, University of Regina, 1978.

Richards, John, and Larry Pratt
Prairie Capitalism: Power and Influence in the New West. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1979.

Richtik, James M.
"Manitoba Settlement: 1870-1886." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1971.
—. "The Policy Framework for Settling the Canadian West, 1870-1880." *Agricultural History*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (October 1975), pp. 613-628. Berkley, CA.

Ricou, Lawrence
Vertical Man/Horizontal World: Man and Landscape in Canadian Prairie Fiction. University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1973.

Rutherford, Paul
"The New Nationality, 1864-1897: A Study of the National Aims and Ideas of English Canada in the Late Nineteenth Century." Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1973.

Schrodt, Barbara
"Sabbatarianism and Sport." *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Spring 1977), pp. 22-33. Radford, VA.

Smith, Allen
"The Myth of the Self-Made Man in English Canada, 1850-1914." *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (1978), pp. 189-219. Toronto.

Prairie Liberalism: The Liberal Party in Saskatchewan, 1905-71. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1975.

Snell, J.F.
"The Cost of Living in Canada in 1870." *Social History/ Histoire sociale*, Vol. 12, No. 23 (May 1979), pp. 189-93. Ottawa.

Spafford, D.S.
"The Elevator Issue, The Organized Farmers and The Government, 1908-11." *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Autumn 1962), pp. 81-92.

Spector, David
"Agriculture on the Prairies, 1870-1940." *History and Archaeology/Histoire et archéologie*, No. 65, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1983, pp. 215-60.

***Star Almanac* (Montreal)**
"Hints to Intending Settlers," Hugh Graham, 1893, p. 255.

Stavenhagen, Rodolfo
Social Classes in Agrarian Societies. Anchor Books, New York, 1975.

Street, A.G.
Farmer's Glory. Macmillan, Toronto, 1934.

Stueck, Nelson
North of the Qu'Appelle. United Church Women's Committee, Abernethy, Sask., 1967.

Swierenga, Robert
"Towards the 'New Rural History': A Review Essay." *History Methods Newsletter*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (June 1973), pp. 111-121.

Sykes, Ella C.
A Home Help in Canada. G. Bell & Sons, London, 1912.

Thomas, Lewis G.
"Alberta Perspectives." *Alberta History*. Vol. 28, No. 1 (Winter 1980), pp. 1-5.

Thomas, Lewis H.

Thomas, Lewis H.
The Struggle for Responsible Government in the North-West Territories, 1870-97. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1978.

Thompson, John H.
"Bringing in the Sheaves: The Harvest Excursionists, 1890-1929." *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 59, No. 4 (Summer 1978), pp. 467-89.
—. *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918.* McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1978.
—. "'Permanently Wasteful but Immediately Profitable': Prairie Agriculture and The Great War." Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers 1976* (1976), pp. 193-206. Montreal.
—. "The Prohibition Question in Manitoba, 1892-1928." M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969.

Thwaite, Leo
Alberta: An Account of Its Wealth and Progress. George Routledge & Sons, London, 1912.

Tobias, J.L.
"Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879-1885." *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (December 1983), pp. 519-48.

Treiman, Donald
"A Standard Occupational Classification in History." Journal of Interdisciplinary History. Vol. 3, No. 1 (Summer 1972), pp. 63-88.

Troeltsch, Ernst
The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, Vol. 2. Harper Torchbooks, New York, 1960.

Turner, Allan R.
"W.R. Motherwell and Agricultural Development in Saskatchewan, 1905-1918." M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1958.
—. "W.R. Motherwell and Agricultural Education, 1905-1918." *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Winter 1959), pp. 81-96. Saskatoon.
—. "W.R. Motherwell: The Emergence of a Farm Leader." *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Autumn 1958), pp. 94-103, Saskatoon.

Vanek, Joann
"Work, Leisure and Family Roles: Farm Households in the United States, 1920-1955." *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Winter 1980), pp. 422-431. Minneapolis.

Veblen, Thorstein
The Theory of the Leisure Class. Modern Library Book, New York, 1934.

Vogt, Evon Z.
Modern Homesteaders: The Life of A Twentieth Century Frontier Community. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA., 1955.

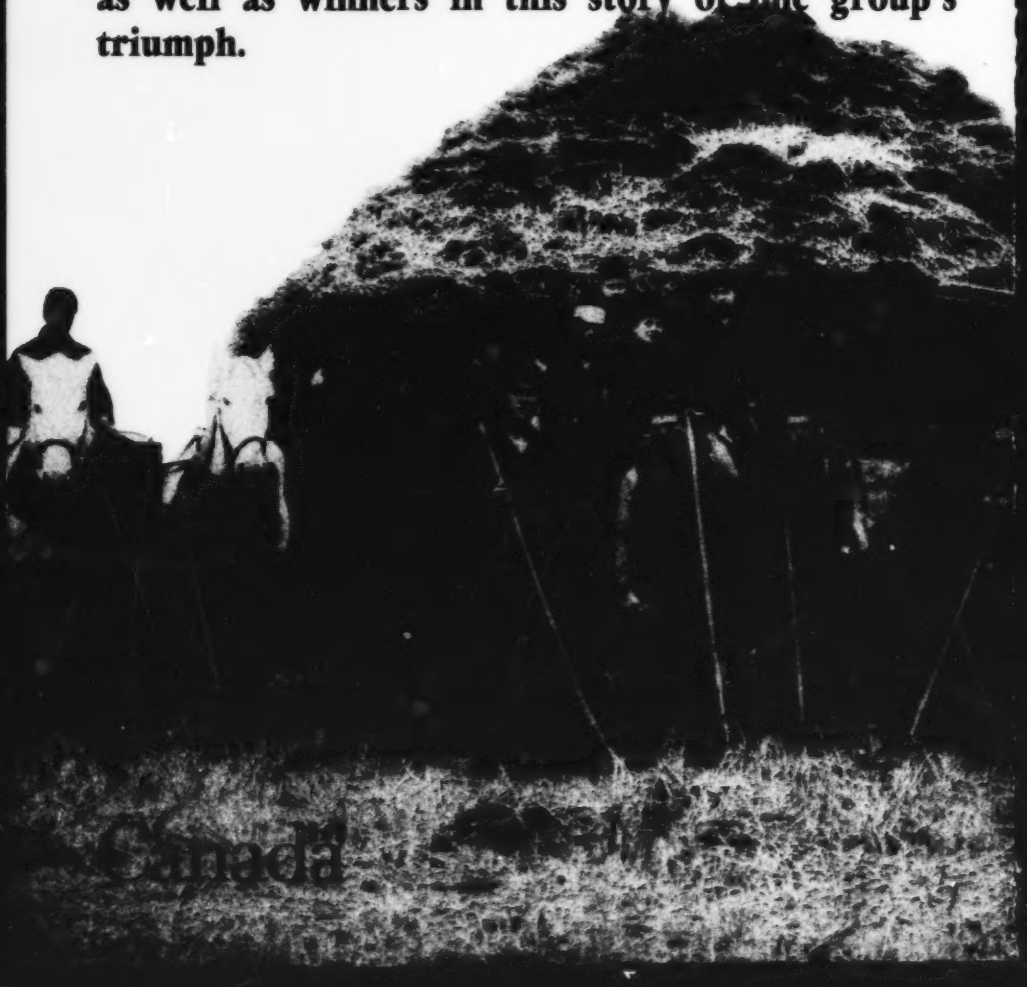
***Western World*, The (Winnipeg)**
"Chickney Settlement," June 1890, p. 100.
—. "Actual Farming Results," March 1897, p. 12.

Wilson, W.A.
A Century of Canadian Grain: Government Policy to 1951. Western Producer Prairie Books, Saskatoon, 1978.

Wood, Lewis Aubrey
A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada: The Origins and Development of Agrarian Protest, 1872-1924. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1975.

Wood, Susan
"God's Doormats: Women in Canadian Prairie Fiction." *Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Fall 1980), pp. 350-59. Bowling Green, OH.

Yule, Annie I.
Grit and Growth: The Story of Grenfell. United Church Women's Committee, Wolseley, Sask., 1967.

Zimmerman, C.C., and Seth Russell
Symposium on the Great Plains of North America. Institute for Regional Studies, Fargo, N.D., 1967.

Between 1882 and 1920, settlers from Ontario established social and economic structures at Abernethy, Saskatchewan, reflecting their ethnic dominance in prairie society. By virtue of hard work, perseverance and the critical advantage of having arrived first, they transformed Pheasant Plains into a prosperous farming community. Abernethy settlers believed that as makers of their own destiny they had "made good" despite all odds. But in a situation of unequal homesteading opportunities and unrestricted competition between producers, it was clear there must be losers as well as winners in this story of one group's triumph.